# CENTER33 \\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\

# **CENTER**33



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NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Record of Activities and Research Reports June 2012–May 2013

Washington, 2013

National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Washington, DC

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### **PREFACE**

The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art, a research institute that fosters study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art, artifacts, architecture, urbanism, photography, and film, from prehistoric times to the present, was founded in 1979. The Center encourages a variety of approaches by historians, critics, and theorists of art, as well as by scholars in related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences.

The resident community of international scholars consists of the Samuel H. Kress Professor, the Andrew W. Mellon Professor, the Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professor, the A. W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, and approximately twenty fellows at any one time, including senior fellows, visiting senior fellows, guest scholars, research associates, postdoctoral fellows, and predoctoral fellows. In addition, the Center supports approximately fifteen predoctoral fellows who are conducting research both in the United States and abroad. The programs of the Center include fellowships, meetings, research, and publications.

# REPORT ON THE ACADEMIC YEAR JUNE 2012 - MAY 2013

# **BOARD OF ADVISORS**

Celeste Brusati September 2012 – August 2015 University of Michigan

Sheila R. Canby September 2012 – August 2015 Metropolitan Museum of Art

David Joselit September 2010–August 2013 Yale University

Dale Kinney September 2011 – August 2014 Bryn Mawr College

Alexander Nagel September 2011 – August 2014 Institute of Fine Arts, New York University Richard Neer September 2010 – August 2013 University of Chicago

Eugene Wang September 2011 – August 2014 Harvard University

### **CURATORIAL LIAISON**

Mary Morton September 2012 – August 2015 Curator and Head of the Department of French Paintings National Gallery of Art

# SPECIAL SELECTION COMMITTEES

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Predoctoral Fellowship for Historians of American Art to Travel Abroad

Renée Ater February 2012 – March 2014 University of Maryland

Wendy Bellion February 2012 – March 2014 University of Delaware

Kirk Savage February 2011 – March 2013 University of Pittsburgh A. W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship

Suzanne Preston Blier November 2010–February 2013 Harvard University

Alexander Potts November 2011–February 2014 University of Michigan

Stephen Campbell October 2012 – February 2015 The Johns Hopkins University

# **STAFF**

Elizabeth Cropper, Dean Therese O'Malley, Associate Dean Peter M. Lukehart, Associate Dean Helen Tangires, Center Administrator Bryant L. Johnson, Assistant Administrator for Budget and Accounting

### RESEARCH

Kathryn Barush, Research Associate Jason Di Resta, Edmond J. Safra Research Assistant

Joseph Hammond, Research Associate

Alexandra Hoare, Research Associate Emily Pugh, Robert H. Smith Research Associate

Jessica N. Richardson, Research Associate (to August 2012)

Guendalina Serafinelli, Research Associate

### **PROGRAMS**

Susan Cohn, Fellowship Officer Elizabeth Kielpinski, Regular Meetings Coordinator

Hayley Plack, Assistant to the Program of Research/Center Report Coordinator

Bailey Skiles, Special Meetings and Publications Coordinator (to November 2012)

Catherine Southwick, Special Meetings and Publications Coordinator (from February 2013)

Courtney Tompkins, Assistant to the Program of Research (from July 2012)

Sarah Williams, Assistant to the Program of Meetings and Publications



# REPORT OF THE DEAN JUNE 2012 – MAY 2013

This year the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts welcomed fellows from Switzerland, Poland, Spain, France, Germany, Italy, Vietnam, and the United States. The topics of their research ranged from oil painting as a workshop secret to Aztec-adapted catechisms, from ancient Roman painting to contemporary outsider art and modern definitions of non-art, and from thirteenth-century Roman cosmology to the revival of period styles in twentieth-century China.

In the program of special meetings, the Center cosponsored, with the University of Maryland, the forty-third Middle Atlantic Symposium in the History of Art. This year's biennial Wyeth Conference, supported by the Wyeth Foundation for American Art, was dedicated to the topic "Religion in American Art." Jules David Prown's 2003 Wyeth Lecture, "Friends and Rivals: Copley, West, Peale, Trumbull, and Stuart," was released this year as a video podcast (see page 180). The Center also sponsored a two-day Andrew W. Mellon Colloquy on the topic "Conservation of Modern and Contemporary Outdoor Sculpture."

In the program of publications, volume 79 in the series Studies in the History of Art appeared. *Rediscovering the Ancient World on the Bay of Naples*, 1710–1890 was edited by Carol C. Mattusch. It includes papers by thirteen scholars presented at a symposium held in 2009.

Oskar Bätschmann, Samuel H. Kress Professor, gave a public lecture at the Gallery entitled "Benjamin West, John Singleton Copley, and the Revolution of the European Art System" in addition to his presentations

Program celebrating the publication of *Carlo Cesare Malvasia*'s Felsina pittrice, Robert H. Smith Colloquy, Biblioteca d'Arte e di Storia di San Giorgio in Poggiale, Bologna, February 28, 2013 to the members of the Center. He gave active and critical support to the work of the predoctoral fellows while pursuing his own work on topics from Holbein to Hodler and from the *paragone*, or comparison of the arts, to the foundations of modernism.

Lynne Cooke, Andrew W. Mellon Professor, completed her first year in residence and was involved in several exhibitions in the United States and overseas, including *Rosemary Trockel: A Cosmos*, shown in Madrid and New York, and "*Great and Mighty Things*": Outsider Art from the Jill and Sheldon Bonovitz Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. She contributed to discussion of outsider art on the fellows' field trip to Philadelphia in May.

Cecilia Frosinini, Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professor, initiated two events during her residency this spring. She led a three-day Robert H. Smith Colloquy on the subject "Practicing Inclusivity: New Insights on the Methods, Materials, and Ethics of Technical Art History." The colloquy culminated with a lecture presented by Professor Frosinini for the scholarly public and Gallery staff entitled "Facing the Evidence: Controversies and Debates." Dr. Frosinini also participated in frequent conversations among curatorial and conservation staff in accordance with the mission of the Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professorship to develop such relationships between CASVA and Gallery staff.

The sixty-second A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts were delivered by Barry Bergdoll of The Museum of Modern Art and Columbia University on the topic "Out of Site in Plain View: A History of Exhibiting Architecture since 1750." Professor Bergdoll also met informally with members of the Center for discussion of his lectures and to share reflections on his practice as a curator of architectural exhibitions dedicated both to historical figures such as Henri Labrouste and to contemporary issues such as global warming and the housing crisis.

The Center's three ongoing research projects, designed to provide access to primary research materials for the field, are described on pages 37–44. The first volume in the Malvasia project, which makes available an English translation and new critical edition of Carlo Cesare Malvasia's *Felsina pittrice* (Bologna, 1678), was copublished by the National Gallery of Art and Harvey Miller Publishers for Brepols Publishers. The project is under the direction of the dean, with Professor Lorenzo Pericolo of the University of Warwick serving as editor of the critical edition.

The volume was presented in Bologna on February 28, 2013, in a colloquy that attracted a wide public (see pages 26–27). Associate Dean Therese O'Malley is directing the design of a digital database for the Keywords in American Landscape Design project. This database of images, people, places, texts, and terms expands on the book *Keywords in American Landscape Design* (2010). Associate Dean Peter M. Lukehart and his team have been developing a geotagging feature that will allow place names mentioned in documents in the Accademia di San Luca database (www.nga.gov/casva/accademia) to link to their respective locations on interactive, historic maps of Rome dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A full description of CASVA's fellowship program may be found in the concluding section of this volume, and a complete list of publications may be found on the National Gallery of Art website at www.nga.gov/casvapublications. In addition to the contents of *Center 33*, the entire archive of Center reports is now accessible and searchable online at www.nga.gov/casva. This initiative, like the research programs mentioned above, represents our commitment to the exploration of digital resources for research and scholarly communication. We look forward to exploiting the potential of the new design of the Gallery's website. A grant from Robert H. Smith continues to make possible the appointment of a research associate specializing in digital technologies, enabling us to begin to explore potential uses of such technology for CASVA.

Elizabeth Cropper Dean Anne Dunlop, Oskar Bätschmann, and Cynthia Hahn



Lynne Cooke and Frank Martin with Richard Ford



# **MEMBERS**

Oskar Bätschmann, University of Bern, emeritus Samuel H. Kress Professor, 2012–2013

Lynne Cooke, New York City
Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 2012–2014

Cecilia Frosinini, Opificio delle Pietre Dure e Laboratori di Restauro, Florence Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professor, spring 2013

Barry Bergdoll, The Museum of Modern Art/Columbia University Sixty-Second A. W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, spring 2013

### **SENIOR FELLOWS**

Louise M. Burkhart, University at Albany, State University of New York Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 2012–2013 Picturing Aztec Christianity: Testerian Manuscripts and the Catechism in Nahuatl

Thierry de Duve, Université Lille 3, emeritus William C. Seitz Senior Fellow, 2012–2013 Manet's Testament, Duchamp's Message, Broodthaers' Lesson

Celeste Brusati and Louise M. Burkhart



Thierry de Duve



James Grantham Turner and Carlos Sambricio



Anne Dunlop, Tulane University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 2012–2013
Castagno's Crime: Andrea del Castagno and Quattrocento
Painting

Cynthia Hahn, Hunter College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 2012–2013 Reliquaries: Objects, Action, Response

Stuart Lingo, University of Washington, Seattle
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 2012–2013
Bronzino's Bodies: Fortunes of the Ideal Nude in an Age
of Reform

Carlos Sambricio, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 2013 A History of the History of Spanish Architecture

# AILSA MELLON BRUCE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART SABBATICAL CURATORIAL FELLOW

David Alan Brown, National Gallery of Art, Department of Italian
Paintings
June 1-September 30, 2012
Giovanni Bellini's Last Works

Paul B. Jaskot and Martina Bagnoli





Tran Ky Phuong, Catherine Maumi, Monika Schmitter, and Michael Gaudio

### SCHOLARS IN RESIDENCE

Martina Bagnoli, The Walters Art Museum Scholar in Residence, August 13–September 30, 2012 The Five Senses and Medieval Art

Frank Martin, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften/Freie Universität Berlin Scholar in Residence, September 1-November 9, 2012 Antique Portraits in the Dresden Sculpture Collection: Their Use and Reuse in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

### **VISITING SENIOR FELLOWS**

Michael Gaudio, University of Minnesota Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, June 18 – August 15, 2012 "Prosper Thou Our Handyworks": Prints and Protestant Devotion at Little Gidding, 1625–1642 Paul B. Jaskot, DePaul University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, September 1 – October 31, 2012

Cultural Fantasies, Ideological Goals, and Political Economic Realities: The Built Environment at Auschwitz

Caroline Maniaque-Benton, École nationale supérieure d'architecture Paris-Malaquais

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, November 5 – December 31, 2012

Alternative Architecture: A Documentary History

Catherine Maumi, École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Grenoble

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, June 15 – August 15, 2012 Victor Gruen: The Emerging Urban Pattern, or a New Architecture for Our Urban Environment

Mark Salber Phillips, Carleton University

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, December 3, 2012 – January 31, 2013

History Painting and Historical Representation in Britain: From Benjamin West to Ford Madox Brown

Monika Schmitter, University of Massachusetts Amherst Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, June 18 – August 15, 2012 Portrait of a Collector: Andrea Odoni in His Sixteenth-Century Venetian Palace

Tran Ky Phuong, Vietnam Association of Ethnic Minorities' Culture and Arts

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, June 21 – August 22, 2012

A Study of the Iconography of the My Son Sanctuary: Art Interactions in Southeast Asia from the Eighth to the Thirteenth Century

James Grantham Turner, University of California, Berkeley Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, January 1– February 28, 2013 Eros Visible: Sexuality, Art, and Antiquity in Italy, 1499–1540



Samuel H. Kress Professor Oskar Bätschmann with predoctoral fellows in residence Marius Bratsberg Hauknes, Yanfei Zhu, Jessica L. Horton, Susanna Berger, Nathaniel B. Jones, Meredith Gamer, and Fredo Rivera

### POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWS

Łukasz Stanek

A. W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, September 2011 – December 2012, July – August 2013 Henri Lefebvre's "Vers une architecture de la jouissance" (1973): A Manifesto of Architectural Research

### Stephen Hart Whiteman

A. W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, 2012–2014 Vocabularies of Culture: The Landscape of Multiethnic Emperorship in the Early Qing Dynasty (1661–1722)

# PREDOCTORAL FELLOWS (IN RESIDENCE)

Susanna Berger [University of Cambridge]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 2011–2013
The Art of Philosophy: Early Modern Illustrated Thesis
Prints, Broadsides, and Student Notebooks

### Meredith Gamer [Yale University]

Paul Mellon Fellow, 2010-2013

Criminal and Martyr: Art and Religion in Britain's Early Modern Eighteenth Century

### Marius Bratsberg Hauknes [Princeton University]

Twenty-Four-Month Chester Dale Fellow, 2011–2013 Imago, Figura, Scientia: *The Image of the World in Thirteenth-Century Rome* 

### Jessica L. Horton [University of Rochester]

Wyeth Fellow, 2011-2013

Places to Stand: Native Art beyond the Nation

### Nathaniel B. Jones [Yale University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 2010-2013

Nobilibus pinacothecae sunt faciundae: *The Inception of the Roman Fictive Picture Gallery* 

### Fredo Rivera [Duke University]

Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 2011-2013

Revolutionizing Modernities: Visualizing Utopia in 1960s Havana, Cuba

### Yanfei Zhu [The Ohio State University]

Ittleson Fellow, 2011–2013

Transtemporal and Cross-Border Alignment: The Rediscovery of Yimin Ink Painting in Modern China, 1900–1949

# PREDOCTORAL FELLOWS (NOT IN RESIDENCE)

### Emmelyn Butterfield-Rosen [Princeton University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 2011–2014

"Canonical Views": The Disposition of Figures in Modern Art, 1886–1912

### Hannah J. Friedman [The Johns Hopkins University]

Paul Mellon Fellow, 2012–2015

Blind Virtue and the Practice of Prophecy in the Art of Jusepe de Ribera

### Subhashini Kaligotla [Columbia University]

Ittleson Fellow, 2012–2014

Shiva's Waterfront Temples: Reimagining the Sacred Architecture of India's Deccan Region

### Kristopher W. Kersey [University of California, Berkeley]

Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 2012–2014

Emperor Go-Shirakawa and the Image of Classical Japan

### Jennifer Nelson [Yale University]

Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 2012–2013 Image beyond Likeness: The Chimerism of Early Protestant Visuality, 1517–1565

### Joshua O'Driscoll [Harvard University]

Paul Mellon Fellow, 2011–2014 Picti Imaginativo: *Image and Inscription in Ottonian Manuscripts from Cologne* 

### Ann E. Patnaude [University of Chicago]

Twelve-Month Chester Dale Fellow, 2012–2013 Locating Identity: Mixed Inscriptions in Archaic and Classical Greek Pottery and Stone, c. 675–336 BCE

### David Pullins [Harvard University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 2012–2015 Cut and Paste: The Mobile Image from Watteau to Pillement

### James M. Thomas [Stanford University]

Twenty-Four-Month Chester Dale Fellow, 2012–2014 The Aesthetics of Habitability: Edward Wortz, NASA, and the Art of Light and Space, 1969–1973

### Susan M. Wager [Columbia University]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 2012–2014 Boucher's Bijoux: Luxury Reproductions in the Age of Enlightenment

### Elaine Y. Yau [University of California, Berkeley]

Wyeth Fellow, 2012–2014 Vision, Painting, Placing: Sister Gertrude Morgan's Material Performances and the Sensory Cultures of New Orleans, 1960–1983

# AILSA MELLON BRUCE PREDOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN ART TO TRAVEL ABROAD

Emily Clare Casey
[University of Delaware]

Alexander Brier Marr
[University of Rochester]

### Whitney Thompson

[The Graduate Center, City University of New York]

# **MEETINGS**

### **SYMPOSIUM**

March 8-9, 2013

MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART, FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL SESSIONS

Cosponsored with the Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Maryland

Friday, March 8, 2013 University of Maryland, College Park

### Evening session

Meredith J. Gill, University of Maryland Welcome

Bonnie Thornton Dill, University of Maryland *Greeting* 

Alicia Volk, University of Maryland Introduction

George Levitine Lecture in Art History
John T. Carpenter, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Poetry in Ink: Form and Rhythm in Japanese Calligraphy

Saturday, March 9, 2013 National Gallery of Art

# Morning session

Elizabeth Cropper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts *Welcome* 

Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts *Moderator* 

Amy C. Yandek [Temple University]

Roman, Macedonian, Syrian, or Durene? Cultural Identity Shown through Domestic Cult at Dura-Europos in Syria Professor Jane D. Evans: introduction **Emily Olson** 

[University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]

Contextualizing Roman Honorific Monuments: Statue Groups of the Imperial Family from Olympia, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna

Professor Mary Sturgeon: introduction

Chiara Valle

[The Johns Hopkins University]

Weaving the Invisible: Painting Carpets as Paradox

Professor Mitchell Merback: introduction

Krista Gulbransen

[University of Virginia]

Early Portraiture from Bundi: A Study in Mughal-Rajput Artistic

Exchange during the Reign of Akbar Professor Daniel Ehnbom: introduction

### Afternoon session

Abigail McEwen, University of Maryland

Moderator

Jennifer Grejda

[The George Washington University]

Interwoven Histories: Chocolate and Jesuits in The Collation,

a Tapestry from the Court of Louis XIV

Professor Barbara von Barghahn: introduction

Carrie Robbins

[Bryn Mawr College]

The Stereoscope as Cheat! (In)Credulity and Oliver

Wendell Holmes

Professor Steven Z. Levine: introduction

Catherine Southwick

[American University]

Renoir and the Paris Commune: The Complexity of Class in

Ball at the Moulin de la Galette Professor Juliet Bellow: *introduction* 

Andrew Eschelbacher

[University of Maryland]

Defying Death: The Animate Tomb of Auguste Blanqui

Professor June Hargrove: introduction



Michael Gaudio, Robert Cozzolino, Tom Gunning, and JoAnne Mancini, "Religion in American Art," Wyeth Foundation for American Art Conference, October 26, 2012

### **CONFERENCE**

October 26, 2012

RELIGION IN AMERICAN ART

Wyeth Foundation for American Art Conference

Morning session

Elizabeth Cropper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Sally M. Promey, Yale University Moderator

Marcia Brennan, Rice University

Memento Vivere: A Reminder of Life at the End of Life

Robert Cozzolino, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Crossing the Void: Religion in Gregory Gillespie's Art

Margaret Olin, Yale Divinity School

Is the Eruv Spiritual?

Tom Gunning, University of Chicago *Illuminating Images: Projection and Color* 

### Afternoon session

Franklin Kelly, National Gallery of Art Moderator

JoAnne Mancini, National University of Ireland, Maynooth Art, Religion, and War in the Transpacific

Louis P. Nelson, University of Virginia Material Religion in Early America

Michael Gaudio, University of Minnesota Observations and Reflections on Lightning and Thunder, Occasioned by a Portrait of Dr. Franklin

Jason LaFountain, Northwestern University
The "Art of Walking" according to the Puritans

### **COLLOQUIES**

February 28, 2013

Program celebrating the publication of *Carlo Cesare Malvasia's* Felsina pittrice (1678): *Lives of the Bolognese Painters*, volume 1, *Early Bolognese Painting* 

Robert H. Smith Colloquy

Cosponsored with the Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio in Bologna; Genus Bononiae, Musei nella Città; Centro Studi sul Rinascimento, Fondazione Carisbo; and the Dipartimento di Filologia Classica e Italianistica, Università di Bologna

# Presentation of the book

Gian Mario Anselmi, Università di Bologna Welcome

Luigi Ficacci, Soprintendenza per i Beni Storici, Artistici ed Etnoantropologici

Moderator

Daniele Benati, Università di Bologna Enrico Mattioda, Università di Torino Carl Brandon Strehlke, Philadelphia Museum of Art



Program celebrating the publication of *Carlo Cesare Malvasia*'s Felsina pittrice, Robert H. Smith Colloquy, Biblioteca d'Arte e di Storia di San Giorgio in Poggiale, Bologna, February 28, 2013 Andrea Emiliani, Accademia Clementina di Bologna Reflections on Malvasia

Elizabeth Cropper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts Concluding Remarks

# Delegates

Carlo Alberto Girotto, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa Alexandra Hoare, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts Peter M. Lukehart, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts Lorenzo Pericolo, University of Warwick Giancarla Periti, University of Toronto Jessica N. Richardson, Villa I Tatti



"Conservation of Modern and Contemporary Outdoor Sculpture," Andrew W. Mellon Colloquy in Modern and Contemporary Art, March 18, 2013 March 18-19, 2013

CONSERVATION OF MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY OUTDOOR SCULPTURE

Andrew W. Mellon Colloquy in Modern and Contemporary Art

### Chairs

Molly Donovan, National Gallery of Art Katy May, National Gallery of Art Shelley Sturman, National Gallery of Art

# **Participants**

Lynne Cooke, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Harry Cooper, National Gallery of Art
Elizabeth Cropper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Eric Crosby, Walker Art Center
Stephanie de Roemer, Glasgow Museums
Sarah L. Eckhardt, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
Angela Elliott, Baltimore Museum of Art
Adam D. Glick, Madison Square Park Conservancy
Sarah Urist Green, Indianapolis Museum of Art
Anne Gunnison, Yale University Art Gallery
Nora Lawrence, Storm King Art Center
Peter M. Lukehart, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Catharina Manchanda, Seattle Art Museum
Hesse McGraw, Bemis Center for Contemporary Arts
James Meyer, National Gallery of Art
Kate Moomaw, Denver Art Museum
Steven O'Banion, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Jacob Proctor, Aspen Art Museum

### Guest speakers

Richard Barden, National Museum of American History
William Caine, U.S. General Services Administration
Tiarna Doherty, Smithsonian American Art Museum
Kathy Erickson, U.S. General Services Administration
Helen Ingalls, Smithsonian American Art Museum
Karen Lemmey, Smithsonian American Art Museum
L. H. (Hugh) Shockey Jr., Smithsonian American Art Museum

May 13-15, 2013

PRACTICING INCLUSIVITY: NEW INSIGHTS ON THE METHODS, MATERIALS, AND ETHICS OF TECHNICAL ART HISTORY

Robert H. Smith Colloquy Co-organized with Cecilia Frosinini, Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professor, spring 2013

# **Participants**

Francesca Bettini, Opificio delle Pietre Dure e Laboratori di Restauro

Lauren W. Cox, Balboa Art Conservation Center





Matthew Cushman, Worcester Art Museum Kristin deGhetaldi, University of Delaware Rebecca J. Long, Indianapolis Museum of Art Nat Silver, The Frick Collection Eve Straussman-Pflanzer, The Art Institute of Chicago Claire Walker, Saint Louis Art Museum

### Guest speakers

Carmen C. Bambach, Metropolitan Museum of Art Roberto Bellucci, Opificio delle Pietre Dure e Laboratori di Restauro Tomaso Montanari, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II Cinzia Pasquali, Paris Irma Passeri, Yale University Art Gallery

### SEMINAR

June 4-7, 2012

Spatial Concepts in Art and Architectural History: The "Spatial Turn" and After

A. W. Mellon Predoctoral Seminar

The seminar reflected on the cognitive value of spatial concepts in the research projects of the predoctoral fellows within the context of the "spatial turn": in the words of Edward Soja, the "reassertion of space in critical social theory."

Since the 1980s contributors to the spatial turn seem to have returned to concepts important in historical discussions, such as Germanlanguage art and architectural history of the late nineteenth century or the architectural avant-gardes of the 1920s. Yet within the spatial turn the concept of space was given a meaning distinct from these earlier debates. Rather than considering it as an aesthetic medium or a specific competence of one or another artistic discipline, space is understood as a product, an instrument, and a milieu of heterogeneous and conflicting social practices. This process, Henri Lefebvre's "production of space," encompasses all cultural production, and it allows rethinking fundamental questions of difference, causality, agency, global scale, and subjectivity. Within this changed understanding of space, the participants of the seminar discussed the cognitive gains—and losses—resulting

from the use of spatial concepts ("space," "place," "network," "center," and "periphery") in their research projects and contextualized them by means of readings on interdisciplinary contributions to the spatial turn.

### **Participants**

Łukasz Stanek, A. W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, 2011–2013, organizer

Benjamin Anderson, David E. Finley Fellow, 2009–2012

Dana E. Byrd, Wyeth Fellow, 2010–2012

Jason Di Resta, Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 2010–2012

Razan Francis, Twenty-Four-Month Chester Dale Fellow, 2010–2012

Di Yin Lu, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 2010–2012

Anna Lise Seastrand, Ittleson Fellow, 2010–2012

Jennifer M. S. Stager, Paul Mellon Fellow, 2009–2012

### COLLOQUIA CCLV-CCLXI

October 11, 2012 Oskar Bätschmann, Samuel H. Kress Professor Oil Painting as a Workshop Secret: On Calumnies, Legends, and Critical Investigations

November 1, 2012 Louise Burkhart, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow Flowers and Floggings, Friars and Footprints: Pictorializing an Aztec-Adapted Catechism

January 10, 2013 Anne Dunlop, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow Drawing Blood: On Andrea del Castagno

January 31, 2013 Cynthia Hahn, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow *The Reliquary Effect* 

March 7, 2013 Thierry de Duve, William C. Seitz Senior Fellow *The Invention of Non-Art* 

March 21, 2013 Carlos Sambricio, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow On the Idea of Classicism: Spanish Architecture in the Eighteenth Century April 18, 2013

Stuart Lingo, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow

The Galatea Effect: Agnolo Bronzino and the Body between Studio and the Ideal

### **SHOPTALKS 180 – 187**

October 25, 2012

Nathaniel B. Jones, David E. Finley Fellow

The Fictive Picture Gallery and the Ancient Roman Artworld

November 15, 2012

Susanna Berger, Samuel H. Kress Fellow

Seventeenth-Century Visual Representations of Aristotelian Scholastic Philosophy

November 29, 2012

Łukasz Stanek, A. W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow

Henri Lefebvre's "Vers une architecture de la jouissance" (1973):

Towards an Architectural Research

December 6, 2012

Meredith Gamer, Paul Mellon Fellow

Criminal and Martyr: The Case of Thomas Banks' Anatomical

Crucifixion

December 13, 2012

Fredo Rivera, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow

Espacio and Vanguardia in the City: The Relationship between Art and Architecture from Exposición Lam (1955) to the History and Architecture of Cuba Exhibition (1963) in Havana, Cuba

February 21, 2013

Marius Bratsberg Hauknes, Twenty-Four-Month Chester Dale Fellow The Image of the World in Thirteenth-Century Rome

March 14, 2013

Yanfei Zhu, Ittleson Fellow

Literati Modern: Retrieval of Shitao (1642–1707) and His Artistic Legacy in Early Twentieth-Century China

April 8, 2013

Jessica L. Horton, Wyeth Fellow

Conversations with Stone: Jimmie Durham's Itinerant Art



# **LECTURES**

# THE SIXTY-SECOND A.W. MELLON LECTURES IN THE FINE ARTS, 2013

Barry Bergdoll, The Museum of Modern Art/Columbia University
Out of Site in Plain View: A History of Exhibiting Architecture
since 1750

/ 5	
April 7	Framed and Hung: Architecture in Public from the Salon to the French Revolution
April 14	In and Out of Time: Curating Architecture's History
April 21	Not at Home: Architecture on Display from World's Fairs to Williamsburg
April 28	Better Futures: Exhibitions between Reform and Avant-Garde
May 5	Conflicting Visions: Commerce, Diplomacy, and Persuasion
May 12	Architecture and the Rise of the Event Economy

### LECTURE PROGRAM

May 15, 2013

Cecilia Frosinini, Opificio delle Pietre Dure e Laboratori di Restauro Facing the Evidence: Controversies and Debates

Tomaso Montanari, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II Response

As the conclusion to a colloquy dedicated to the interaction between diagnostic investigations and their art-historical contextualization (see pages 29–30), the lecture was devoted to ethical problems of managing the results of scientific investigations. The utilization of so-called objective data may represent either of two opposite yet equally dangerous attitudes: that such data should be regarded uncritically (science is objective and always right) or that it may be manipulated (the researcher alone knows how to interpret the data). The hazards of these attitudes may be demonstrated by two examples: the "Modigliani affair" of 1984 and the decades-long search for Leonardo da Vinci's fresco *The Battle of Anghiari*, presumed to be hidden behind a wall in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence.

The "Modigliani affair" involved the scientific testing, publication, and eventual discrediting of forged stone heads purportedly made by Amedeo Modigliani and retrieved from a Livorno canal. The repercussions were particularly grave for art critics who had written the publication, swept up by the general enthusiasm but above all by scientific investigations that had failed to recognize that the marks on the stones had been executed with a Black & Decker drill. The episode is a story of naivety, comedy, and blind faith in science, although without economic or political involvement or manipulation.

The second case is a campaign beginning in the 1970s to locate what may remain of Leonardo's mural depicting the battle of the Florentine Republic against the Milanese at Anghiari, commissioned in 1504. The fresco was ruined by the artist's own experimentation with wall-painting technique, and any survivals were covered over by Giorgio Vasari in his transformation of the room in 1555–1572 to what is today known as the Salone dei Cinquecento, leaving no documentation of the mural's exact location. In the pursuit of the investigation despite lack of documen-

tary evidence for the location of Leonardo's mural; the substitution of interpretation for data in communicating scientific results; and the use of political influence, over the objections of the lecturer as an official of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure and of scholars and experts worldwide, to impose invasive procedures that sacrificed portions of a work by Vasari considered "inferior" in historical and artistic value to a work by Leonardo, the story represents a defeat for principles of ethical use of scientific investigation in art history.

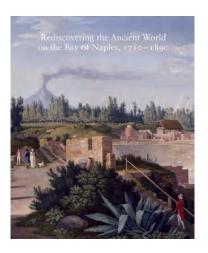
Following the lecture, Tomaso Montanari spoke to the seminar from Venice by means of video teleconferencing. He had asked participants in the colloquy to read a selection from Francis Haskell's historical critique of blockbuster exhibitions, *The Ephemeral Museum* (2000), and added further comments on threats to works of art that are considered cultural commodities rather than objects that belong to a historical and site-specific context and have an organic existence.

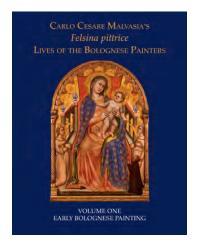
## PUBLICATIONS AND WEB PRESENTATIONS

Two publications appeared in 2012–2013. The first, *Rediscovering the Ancient World on the Bay of Naples*, 1710–1890, volume 79 in the series Studies in the History of Art, was edited by Carol C. Mattusch. It includes papers by thirteen scholars presented at a symposium held in 2009. The second, *Carlo Cesare Malvasia's* Felsina pittrice (1678): *Lives of the Bolognese Painters*, volume 1, *Early Bolognese Painting*, provides a translation and critical edition of the opening part of the *Felsina pittrice* with a critical edition by Lorenzo Pericolo and an introduction and translation by Elizabeth Cropper. It was copublished by the National Gallery of Art and Harvey Miller Publishers in 2012.

The 2003 Wyeth Lecture in American Art, presented by Jules David Prown, "Friends and Rivals: Copley, West, Peale, Trumbull, and Stuart," is now available as a National Gallery of Art video podcast (www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/audio-video/wyeth.html).

A complete list of CASVA publications can be found online at www.nga .gov/casvapublications.





#### RESEARCH

Three long-term research projects are in progress at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts:

## EARLY MODERN SOURCES IN TRANSLATION: CARLO CESARE MALVASIA'S FELSINA PITTRICE



Domenichino, *The Re-buke of Adam and Eve*, 1626. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Patrons' Permanent Fund

Directed by Elizabeth Cropper, dean of CASVA, this project will result in a full critical edition and annotated translation of Carlo Cesare Malvasia's *Felsina pittrice* (Bologna, 1678), one of the most important early modern texts on Italian art. The *Felsina pittrice*, or *Lives of the Bolognese Painters*, provides a history of painting in Bologna that both emulates and challenges Giorgio Vasari's *Lives* (1550/1568). In-

deed, it provides a seventeenth-century Bolognese alternative to Vasari's Tuscan-Roman account of Italian painting. The *Felsina pittrice* has never been translated into English in full, and no critical edition has appeared since 1841–1844. This edition and translation, undertaken by a team of international scholars, will appear in sixteen monographic volumes. Each of the projected volumes will include transcriptions by Lorenzo Pericolo (University of Warwick) of the relevant manuscript notes made by Malvasia in preparation for his book, and now in the Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna. Professor Pericolo will also provide a new critical edition of the Italian text. The series is published for the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts and the National Gallery of Art by Harvey Miller Publishers.

The first volume, *Early Bolognese Painting* (fall 2012), includes an essay by Elizabeth Cropper on Malvasia's approach to the Bolognese "primi lumi" and his criticism of Vasari. A bibliographical essay by Carlo Alberto Girotto analyzes the printing history of the *Felsina pittrice* and its early reception. Historical notes to the translation and manuscript

notes are by Elizabeth Cropper, Lorenzo Pericolo, Giancarla Periti, and Jessica N. Richardson, assisted by Alexandra Hoare. Further volumes are in preparation.

Critical Edition and Project Coordinator: Lorenzo Pericolo Research Associates: Jessica N. Richardson and Alexandra Hoare

## PROJECTS IN AMERICAN LANDSCAPE DESIGN HISTORY



Lewis Miller, In the Park, Many Hours Passed Away, watercolor and ink on paper, Guide to Central Park, page 2. The Henry Ford, Dearborn, Michigan Keywords in American Landscape Design Lewis Miller's Chronicle of American Landscape at Midcentury

Following the 2010 publication of *Keywords in American Landscape Design* by the National Gallery of Art and Yale University Press, the research team, under the direction of Associate Dean Therese O'Malley, is producing a fully searchable relational database based on the wiki format. It is composed of a database of images and citation information, a gallery of almost two thousand digital images, and an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources. The digital phase of the project will make available the research material gathered to date, which far

exceeds what could be presented in a single printed volume.

In addition to working on the Keywords project, Therese O'Malley and her research team have published an annotated digital facsimile edition of a unique and little-studied mid-nineteenth-century album describing Central Park by the artist and carpenter Lewis Miller (1792–1882), of York, Pennsylvania. Miller is well known among historians of American art and architecture who have, since the 1930s, viewed his approximately two thousand drawings as documentation of vernacular life and the cultural landscape. In spite of long-standing familiarity with his work, little attention has been paid to the rich literary or image sources upon which he drew. Two essays address the visual and textual sources

of this album and offer new interpretations not only of the album but also of Miller's larger body of work.

The album, along with interpretive essays by Therese O'Malley and Kathryn Barush, was published in the online journal *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* in April 2013 (www.19thc-artworldwide.org). The project took several approaches to create a context for the work and a better understanding of the reception of Central Park in its opening years. Miller's Central Park album is accompanied by faithful transcriptions of his inscribed texts and descriptions of his drawings; a digitally enhanced map of Miller's scenes in Central Park; links to the online editions of the many literary sources quoted by Miller; links to databases of relevant material, including Central Park commissioners' annual reports; newspaper articles; audio and video clips of reenactments of the brass band performances featured in Central Park; and finally, extensive links to visual comparanda. Technical support for the project was funded by the A. W. Mellon digital humanities and art history initiative, which provided a grant to the journal.

Research Associate: Kathryn Barush Robert H. Smith Research Associate: Emily Pugh Assistant to the Program of Research: Courtney Tompkins

#### THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ACCADEMIA DI SAN LUCA, C. 1590 – 1635

Under the direction of Associate Dean Peter M. Lukehart, this project is designed to provide the first institutional history of the foundation of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome.

Drawing from original statutes, proceedings of meetings, ledger books, and court records, the project brings together a large number of previously unpublished documentary materials with relevant secondary sources. Conceived as two complementary tools, the database of documentation on the website and the printed volume of interpretive studies, *The Accademia Seminars: The Early History of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome*, 1590–1635, shed light on the foundation, operation, administration, and financial management of the fledgling academy from



Luca Ciamberlano, print from drawing book, c. 1610/1620. National Gallery of Art, Washington

its origins in the late sixteenth century to its consolidation as a teaching institution with its own important church designed by Pietro da Cortona in the 1630s.

The searchable database on the website "The History of the Accademia di San Luca, c. 1590–1635: Documents from the Archivio di Stato di Roma" (www.nga .gov/casva/accademia) provides access to a complete diplomatic transcription of extant notarial records related to the Accademia in the Archivio di Stato, as well as a digital image of the original document, the two viewable side by side. Transcriptions of the documents are tagged in Extensible Markup Language (xml) following the guidelines of the Text-Encoding Initiative (www.tei-c.org). Thus the user can select from multiple search parameters that link to all related documents, which are scalable for line-by-line comparisons. Sum-

maries in English and Italian of the original documents are also provided. Search results for artists yield bibliographies and a growing database of related images, the majority of which are works in the collection of the National Gallery of Art.

Since its official launch in 2010, the website has been presented at universities and research institutes, both nationally and internationally, and possible partnerships for further development of the site are being explored. Over the past three years we have also continued to expand the database of images created by members of the Accademia, particularly those that form part of the collections of the National Gallery of Art. One of the most interesting of these additions is a book of prints by Luca Ciamberlano (c. 1580–1641) after drawings by Agostino Carracci (1557–1602), intended as a practical introduction to drawing for young pupils and amateurs. One of its pages, for example, allowed novices to observe and copy the musculature and shading of hands in a variety of actions from salutation to playing a keyboard. This and other new features play an important role in the Accademia website's future growth, both as a valuable resource for historians of the visual arts and as an exemplar of the potential for digital initiatives to foster scholarly exchange.

Research Associate: Guendalina Serafinelli Robert H. Smith Research Associate: Emily Pugh Assistant to the Program of Research: Courtney Tompkins Text-encoding (TEI) Consultant: David Seaman

#### RESEARCH ASSOCIATES' REPORTS

Research associates engaged in long-term Center projects also pursue independent research.



Kathryn Barush, *The Art and Material Cultures of Pilgrimage* 

My work continues to explore the art and material culture of pilgrimage and the notion of the transfer of "spirit" from sacred sites and objects such as relics to artistic representations such as paintings, labyrinths, icons, maps, and Stations of the Cross. My thesis (University of Oxford, 2012) examined these ideas in a nineteenth-

Aidan Hart, Saint Joseph of Arimathaea at Glastonbury, c. 2005. Private collection

century British context, but the parameters of my recent endeavors have expanded both temporally and geographically. I am working on an essay examining concepts of pilgrimage in the film cycle *A Walk through Wooda* by London-based filmmaker Chiara Ambrosio. A piece on the German American artist and pilgrim Lewis Miller (1796–1882) has been published in *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* (spring 2013). I have recently presented papers on the art of the Glastonbury pilgrimage and the legend of Saint Joseph of Arimathea (from works by William Blake [1757–1827] to contemporary icon painter Aidan Hart) at the College of William and Mary Institute for Pilgrimage Studies (fall 2012) and at the University of California, Berkeley, Graduate Theological Union, Badè Museum of Biblical Archaeology (spring 2013). In addition to my work at CASVA, I am also a research affiliate for the Yale University Material and Visual Cultures of Religion project, directed by Sally Promey.

Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone, God the Father and Angels, detail of cupola, c. 1529– 1530, Chapel of the Immaculate Conception, Santissima Annunziata, Cortemaggiore. Author photograph



Jason Di Resta, Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone: Artistic Ambition and the Challenge of the Local, 1515–1539

My research focuses on the paintings of Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone (c. 1484–1539), a six-

teenth-century Friulian artist whose career was marked by continual travel and a mercurial artistic persona. Unlike those of the most renowned artists from this period—Michelangelo, Raphael, and Titian—Pordenone's works do not embody a strong sense of emplacement; his *style*, in other words, cannot be seen as the reflection of a single *place*. By focusing on a migratory painter, my project severs the art-historical correlation of style with geography in order to redress fundamental questions about the ambiguities of stylistic influence, identity formation, and social theories of space. In doing so, my scholarship brings awareness to alternative networks of artistic exchange and forms of eclectic imitation that grew up alongside and in opposition to a Vasarian vision of artistic normativity.



Joseph Hammond, Donor Portraiture in Venice and Jacopo Bellini at the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista

In March I presented my findings on donor portraiture in Renaissance Venice at American University. This research demonstrated that the influence of *mediocritas* on publicly accessible portraiture was more complicated than we have previously thought. In addition, I have been working on an article that reevaluates the primary sources for the

cycle of paintings by Jacopo Bellini (c. 1400–c. 1470) depicting the life of Christ and the Virgin Mary in the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista, Venice. This will result in a significant contribution to our understanding of early Renaissance painting in Venice. My project on the

Titian, Virgin and Child with Saints and Members of the Pesaro Family, c. 1519–1526. Basilica di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice. © 2006, Scala, Florence/Art Resource, NY

iconography of the Presentation of Christ in Renaissance Venice continues, and I have prepared two related articles for publication later in 2013.



Alexandra Hoare, Salvator Rosa as "Amico Vero," the Letters, and Other Studies in Artistic Identity

My research this year has focused on completing a book on the Neapolitan painter and satirist Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), to be published in 2014, which detaches Rosa's well-known achievement of freedom from his romantic legacy and locates it instead in the rituals and discourses of early modern friend-

ship. The book also includes the first English translation and critical edition of a selection of Rosa's letters. In a forthcoming article (*Art History*, December 2013), entitled "Salvator Rosa's Allegory of *Philosophy* as *Ut Pictura Rhetorica*: Eloquent Gesture and the Pursuit of Artistic Decorum," I offer a new interpretation of Rosa's allegorical self-portrait in the National Gallery, London. Other projects under way include studies of autonomy and novelty in early modern artistic practice.



Emily Pugh, SoHo, Kreuzberg, Prenzlauer Berg: Art, Activism, and the Urban Built Environment in the Late Cold War

The relationship between art making, political activism, and urban space as a site of artistic production and exhibition will be

a key focus of my new project, which examines SoHo in New York City, Kreuzberg in West Berlin, and Prenzlauer Berg in East Berlin during the late Cold War, roughly the 1970s through the 1980s. These districts will serve as case studies in analyzing how artists' residencies in particular urban locales have inflected the spatial and economic profiles of these places, as well as how built environments may influence the practices of the artists and activists who lived in them. Of special interest is the

Keith Haring, Berlin Wall mural, 1986. Keith Haring artwork © Keith Haring Foundation. Photo courtesy Haring Foundation Archive.

John Hamilton Mor-

timer. Salvator Rosa.

Andrew W. Mellon

Fund

1778. National Gallery of Art. Washington.

tension that can emerge between individuals' attempts to create spaces and ways of life that criticize mainstream values and efforts to sustain such values through, for example, processes of gentrification.

Guendalina Serafinelli, Between Guido Reni and Mattia Preti



This year I had the opportunity to continue working on my monograph on Giacinto Brandi (1621–1691) and to expand my research to the study of two artists closely related to Brandi: Pier Francesco Mola (1612–1666) and Mattia Preti (1613–1699). With regard to Mola, I have written an article

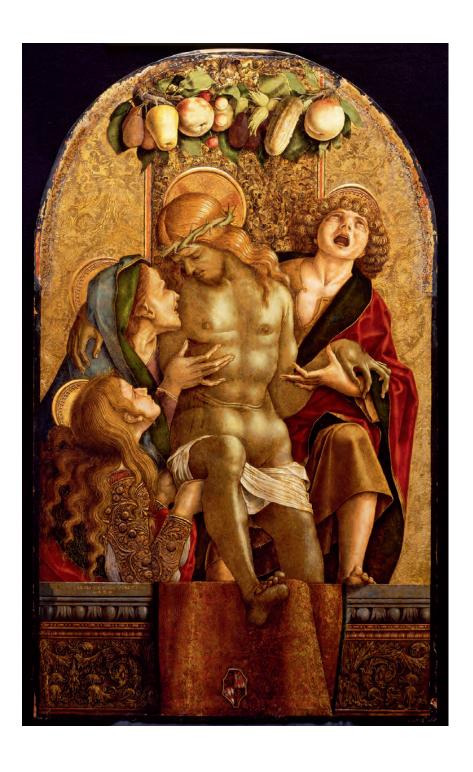
devoted to the drawings in his oeuvre, and I published an essay on Preti in the catalogue of the exhibition *Mattia Preti tra Caravaggio e Luca Giordano* (La Venaria Reale, Turin). I also took part in the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, for which I organized a panel on the topic of seventeenth-century collecting between Rome and Malta. In addition, I delivered a paper on the case study of the converted Jew Clemente Boncompagni Corcos (c. 1586–1657) and his taste for Bolo-

gnese painting, with particular reference to Guido Reni.

Mattia Preti, *The*Martyrdom of Saint
Gennaro, c. 1685.

National Gallery of Art,
Washington, Patrons'
Permanent Fund

### **RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS**



#### MARTINA BAGNOLI

#### THE FIVE SENSES AND MEDIEVAL ART

During my time at CASVA I laid the groundwork for my next exhibition project, which focuses on the five senses. The exhibition is not intended to be an iconographic survey of representations of the senses in medieval art, though of course these will feature. Rather, it will be an investigation of the way in which medieval art engaged and in turn was engaged by the senses.

This research is rooted in my previous work on reliquaries, which looked at the value of materials and craftsmanship as vehicles for the sacred. Beyond their role as attributes of spiritual power, however, materials and techniques were used to elicit a sensory response from the viewer. Church ornaments as well as devotional objects stand out for their crosssensory nature: many held fragrant substances (wine, myrrh, incense, oil); they were made of different materials in a number of elaborate techniques; and they carried colorful images arranged in complicated narratives. Although many of these objects were intended to perform some degree of physical interaction with the viewer, the nature of that interaction is problematic. Following classical philosophy, and especially Aristotle, medieval theories of cognition recognized the importance of sensory perception as the basis of intellectual discernment. Understood to be the windows through which humans could achieve perception of a higher order, the senses had to be disciplined because as, Saint Augustine famously argued, "while the ear enjoys the harmonious chant of the sacred psalm, it also likes the song of the minstrel." Accordingly,

Carlo Crivelli, Lamentation over the Dead Christ, 1485. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Anonymous Gift and Julia Bradford Huntington James Fund.
Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

it was through sensory perception that mankind could know God, and, at the same time, lose him forever. Thus disciplining the senses was an important aspect of Christian practice, especially in the later Middle Ages, when the focus on Christ's Passion placed the body at the center of religious discourse. Within this context, how do we account for an art as overtly sensual as that of the medieval period? What role did medieval approaches to phenomenology play in mysticism? How was this reflected in art?

My project springs from these questions. In particular, I explore the way in which art navigates the distinction between the bodily and the spiritual senses and how that relationship changed over time. In the later Middle Ages, as devotion shifted from an apprehension of the Trinity to that of Christ in his humanity, the dualism of bodily and spiritual senses promoted by the early church fathers began to fade. Gordon Rudy has shown how the sanctification of Christ's human body, on one hand, and the desire to emulate him, on the other, drove some twelfth-century theologians, amoung them Bernard of Clairvaux, to use sensory language to describe the mystical union with God. Their writings often blurred the distinction between the bodily and the spiritual. This tendency became more pronounced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially in the writings of Franciscan mystics such as Bonaventure.

The ambiguity of sensory language and the tension between body and soul in the search for God is reflected in the art of the medieval period, though this trend lasted well into the Renaissance. It is in fact best expressed by the paintings of Carlo Crivelli (1430/1435-c. 1495), whose Lamentation over the Dead Christ, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, signed and dated 1485, is a good case in point. Crivelli stands at the juncture of colliding artistic paradigms: the old medieval one, dedicated to memory, and the new Renaissance one, committed to mimesis. Crivelli's heightened illusionism does not ask the viewer to obliterate the distinction between the image and what it intends to represent. Quite to the contrary, it compels us to look beyond the surface, pointing to a slippage between the picture as a painted story and its nature as *imago* (sign of a reality beyond). Mesmerized by Crivelli's luscious and sculpted surfaces, the viewer is compelled to consume the image, devouring it visually but also straining to touch the robe of Mary Magdalen and to taste the fruit so tantalizingly hanging above John the Evangelist's

open mouth. Images of the Lamentation were commonly associated with the Eucharist. As a memorial of Christ's Passion, the Eucharist was celebrated in late medieval sermons as a way to renew the covenant with God and promote unity with him through the senses, especially taste. Here, Crivelli's indexical illusionism and copious ornamentation invite the viewer to delight in divine sweetness.

The Walters Art Museum Scholar in Residence, August 13–September 30, 2012

Martina Bagnoli returned to her position at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, where she is the Andrew W. Mellon Curator of Medieval Art.



#### OSKAR BÄTSCHMANN

#### LAST WORKS

The works of Titian's last period were not highly esteemed before the twentieth century. Like Vasari, many contemporaries judged that in his old age Titian was no longer able to work because of his trembling hands and that the last paintings were executed mainly by his workshop. The glorification of the last works and the late style of painters, sculptors, composers, and poets started only around 1900.

In 1892 the German poet Stefan George (1868–1933) published in the journal he edited a short lyrical drama in verse, Der Tod des Tizian (The Death of Titian), written by "Loris," the pseudonym of the eighteenyear-old Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929). This young Austrian poet produced a remarkable literary realization of the ideas of the artist's last work. Hofmannsthal's brief play (quoted here in the translation of 1920 by John Heard Jr.) was performed in 1901 for the funeral service of Arnold Böcklin (1827–1901) at the Künstlerhaus in Munich. Titian (c. 1488/1490-1576) does not appear in the play, nor is his last work seen on the stage. A page relates the dying painter's intention, after Titian asks to have all his previous paintings brought to him: "He says he must see them.../The old, the wretched, the pale ones,/Compare them to the new ones he is painting.../Very heavy things are clear to him now,/ An unprecedented understanding is coming to him, / That until now he was a feeble bungler...." The theme of the last painting cannot be guessed from the sparse references to it. Tizianello, in the role of Titian's son, says: "In a fever he paints the new painting,/In breathless haste,

Titian, *Pietà*, 1576. Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali strangely wild...." In this poetic mystification of the last painting, the old painter assesses his work thus far as trivial and the depiction of the living as the supreme, unattainable goal.

Obviously it was not Titian's Pietà or the shocking Flaying of Marsyas or any other known work the young poet supposed to be the last. Hofmannsthal loaded the invisible painting with all the myths collected around the last work of an artist since antiquity. Such idealizations can be traced back to texts by Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE) and Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE). In the thirty-fifth book of his Naturalis historia, Pliny wrote of Apelles, Greece's most famous painter, that he had begun a second Aphrodite at Kos, which was to surpass even his celebrated earlier one. But he was surprised by death, and consequently the last work remained unfinished. In his De officiis, Cicero compared the fragmentary literary legacy of the scholar Panaitios to Apelles' unfinished painting of Aphrodite, appealing to the testimony of a certain Poseidonios, who in turn knew of a report by Rutilius Rufus (158-78 BCE). According to Rufus, no one was able to finish what Panaitios had left incomplete because of the excellence of what already existed. That is precisely what had happened with Apelles' last Aphrodite: no painter had ventured to complete it.

When he died on August 27, 1576, Titian left his *Pietà* among other unfinished paintings, as his biographer Carlo Ridolfi reports, and therefore we cannot say with certainty which of these was his last work. Furthermore, it seems that in his last two decades the painter worked, in collaboration with his workshop and his son Orazio Vecellio (c. 1528–1576), on paintings that he had determined would be his last. Since the fifteenth century artists had sought to become known as the new Apelles by reconstructing the lost paintings of the ancient Greek artist. Titian may have imitated the famous artist by producing the series of reclining Venuses with organist or lutanist, among them a version with a clear allusion to a swan song. He also may have tried to compete with Michelangelo (1475–1564), who was known to have planned a Pietà for his tomb.

Titian began the *Pietà* as a small painting and enlarged the canvas continually to a large format. Working on it he became, as Paul Joannides wrote in *The Cambridge Companion to Titian* (2004), "involved in a posthumous dialogue with Michelangelo." The unfinished *Pietà* could

not be taken either to its apparent original destination, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, or then, because of a dispute with the monastery, the parish church in Pieve di Cadore. After Orazio's death an acrimonious dispute ensued between his brother Pomponio and his brother-in-law. At some point Palma Giovane took the *Pietà* into his studio. What he did to complete it is unclear. He may have made some minor additions and supplied the Latin inscription alluding to Cicero and Apelles as well as showing respect for Titian's work, which reads, in Sheila Hale's translation, "What Titian left unfinished Palma reverently set free, dedicating the work to God."

University of Bern (emeritus)
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 2012–2013

Oskar Bätschmann will return to Zurich to continue his research on artists' last works and a catalogue raisonné of Ferdinand Hodler's paintings.



#### SUSANNA BERGER

## THE ART OF PHILOSOPHY IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

In his article "Towards a Reassessment of Renaissance Aristotelianism," the intellectual historian Charles B. Schmitt (1933-1986) asserted: "Aristotelianism did not end with Copernicus, nor even with Galileo and Bacon. In fact, it thrived throughout the sixteenth century, as it never had before, and was still in full bloom for most of the seventeenth century." He urged his colleagues to devote "more attention...to broad and deep explorations of early modern Aristotelianism." Since the publication of Schmitt's plea in 1973, intellectual historians have shed light on the vitality and variety of Aristotelianisms in textual sources of this period, yet they have entirely overlooked and in some cases even denied the use of visual art in the teaching and interpretation of Aristotle's ideas. With the support of a Samuel H. Kress Fellowship I completed my dissertation, "The Art of Philosophy: Early Modern Illustrated Thesis Prints, Broadsides, and Student Notebooks," which argues that works of art and the production of visual materials were crucial in the early modern intellectual movements that embraced and developed Aristotelian thought, as evidenced by the multiplicity of visual representations in pedagogical materials.

The dissertation examines illustrated thesis prints—broadsides created for use in public oral examinations—to explore how text and image were combined to depict and comment on complex philosophical systems. It focuses in particular on thesis prints interpreting Aristotelian theories of logic and natural philosophy that were designed in the sec-

Léonard Gaultier after Martin Meurisse, *Clara* totius physiologiae synopsis, 1615. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des estampes ond decade of the seventeenth century by the Parisian Franciscan friar Martin Meurisse (1584–1644) and engraved by Léonard Gaultier (1560/1561–1635/1640). These prints, which represent fields of knowledge as maps of diverse terrains, visualize, explicate, and enliven the philosophical concepts that inform them.

The best-known thesis print in history is undoubtedly the document containing ninety-five theses that Martin Luther is reputed to have posted on the door of the Wittenberg Castle church in 1517. By this date it had become standard to announce in advance the propositions, or theses, that students were expected to defend or elaborate in disputations. If the event indeed took place, Luther's thesis print, which presumably was not illustrated, would have been displayed to advertise theses that were scheduled for discussion; contrary to legend, it would not have been created and exhibited to call for the Reformation.

Thesis prints from the early sixteenth century are simple in their design and include text but no imagery. As Louise Rice has shown, in the mid-sixteenth century they began to feature the coat of arms of the dedicatee or another personal device or emblem. By the early seventeenth century, thesis prints with prominent images had come into use in France and Italy.

In most thesis prints, theses and images were separated and had little or no obvious correlation. The prints examined in my dissertation are relatively unusual, belonging to a subcategory whose imagery relates closely to the theses inscribed on the broadside. These prints are nevertheless characteristic of a widespread early modern impulse to practice and disseminate philosophy through the visual arts. Scholars, professors, and students of philosophy gathered, created, and rearranged diagrams and symbolic images in the forms of devices, emblems, hieroglyphs, personifications, and allegories in order to depict and reflect on complex philosophical systems. The dissertation also investigates the crucial pedagogical functions of print collecting and the activity of drawing as evidenced by philosophy students' class notebooks, in which printed and hand-drawn images are interpolated into transcriptions of lectures.

In my dissertation I argue that these philosophical visual representations must be seen in the context of other early modern modes of organizing systems of knowledge through concise abbreviations and summaries. Over the last two decades, a new discipline of cultural history has developed that focuses on institutions of knowledge and seeks to understand how information was organized and managed in the past. Scholars have studied a range of collections and learning aids, including reference books, cabinets of curiosities, archives, and encyclopedias that were employed during the late medieval and early modern periods to manage an overabundance of information. My dissertation aims to introduce visual counterparts to the textual strategies of selection, encapsulation, and recombination employed by scholars and students in this period. Through their ingenious integrations of word and image and brilliant manipulation of forms, these illustrated broadsides and student notebooks enrich and complicate the philosophical materials they present through a compelling form of visual commentary.

[University of Cambridge] Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 2011–2013

In fall 2013 Susanna Berger will take up a Perkins-Cotsen Postdoctoral Fellowship in the Society of Fellows at Princeton University, where she will also be a lecturer in the department of art and archaeology as well as the Council of the Humanities.



#### DAVID ALAN BROWN

#### GIOVANNI BELLINI'S LAST WORKS

Giovanni Bellini (c. 1430–1516) worked to the very end of a long career that left an indelible mark on Venetian painting. Bellini's longevity and indefatigable devotion to his art created a problem for art historians, however, for he is one of those Quattrocento masters, like Pietro Perugino (c. 1446/1450-1523) or Luca Signorelli (c. 1445-1523), who remained active well into the period we call the High Renaissance. But while his colleagues became irrelevant, Bellini, in the first decades of the sixteenth century, continued to be creatively vital. Indeed, he flourished as never before. Giorgio Vasari and other early writers, nevertheless, failed to distinguish Bellini's late work from the rest of his production. Focused on Titian as the quintessential "old age" artist, later scholars have also paid little attention to Bellini's late works as a separate phase in his career. Such studies as there are treat everything he painted after the turn of the century as a whole and in approximation to Giorgione (c. 1477/1478-1510), who, according to Vasari, invented the "maniera moderna" in Venice.

The book I am writing argues that, to be properly understood, Bellini's pictures from the last decade and a half of his life must be divided into two separate categories. Those he undertook during his final years constitute a distinct group that differs significantly from his previous works in style, support, subject matter, and mood. Bellini did not choose the subjects of his last paintings, which were stipulated by patrons; but in a period in which he relied more and more on assistants, his decision

Giovanni Bellini and Titian, *The Feast of the Gods*, 1514/1529. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Widener Collection to undertake and personally conceive and execute the last works points to a special commitment on his part to their creation. Taken as a group, the final pictures reveal an artist driven to excel still further, to explore new territory, and, in a burst of creativity, realize his final achievement.

According to my fellowship proposal, during June-September 2012 I was to begin writing my book. Every scholar knows that new ideas often occur in the process of writing, and I expected that to be the case, particularly as I had begun working on the project more than a decade ago. But I decided first to review the notes and bibliographic materials I had gathered and filed away over the years. As I sifted through these, culling, highlighting, and rearranging them, I began to realize that my present understanding of Bellini's last works—and thus the concept for the book—were actually quite different from what I had proposed to CASVA a year earlier. For that reason I chose to reorganize my material and to refine the concept—a hypothesis that seeks to explain why Bellini painted his last pictures and how, personally conceived and executed, they differ from his vast studio production. Thanks to the review process, the arguments to be advanced in the book are, I believe, more persuasive. The Feast of the Gods (National Gallery of Art, Washington; partly repainted by Titian), dated 1514, and the other works that followed it in rapid succession can be shown to display a greatly expanded range of subject matter and a new degree of inventiveness and creative energy.

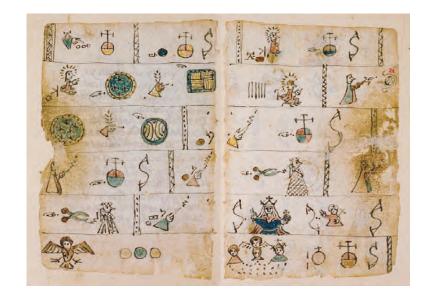
Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow, June 1–September 30, 2012

David Alan Brown returned to his position as curator of Italian and Spanish paintings at the National Gallery of Art.

# CATECHETICAL PICTOGRAPHY AND THE ART OF BEING INDIAN IN LATE-COLONIAL NEW SPAIN

People of central Mexico embraced the alphabetic literacy first taught to them by the Franciscan friars in the 1520s, and by 1600 pre-Columbian methods of pictorial writing had largely disappeared. Therefore, along-side the reams of native-language alphabetic texts surviving from New Spain, pictographic catechisms appear anachronistic. These handmade booklets present Christian doctrinal texts—the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Apostles' Creed, Ten Commandments, and others—as rows of tiny images. Each pictograph represents a word or phrase from the standard catechismal texts, adapted into a native language, usually Nahuatl, and then into pictures. Indigenous people were obliged to memorize these standard texts in their native languages as children and, as adults, to participate in weekly recitations led by a Catholic priest or a native religious official.

The anomalous character of these catechisms is even more striking than I first realized. Scholars have long tied the genre to the early evangelization of Mexico and have asserted that at least some of the texts date to the sixteenth century, even to the 1520s. Pictures were used in sixteenth-century catechesis—this is a favorite topos in evangelization histories—but records describe nothing precisely consistent with the extant pictographic catechisms. From my research this winter into the history of a catechetical dialogue included in nearly all the manuscripts, I have concluded that the purportedly early texts cannot predate the midseventeenth century. The genre as represented in surviving manuscripts



Anonymous, pictographic catechism, Nahua, seventeenth century, Mexico City. Bibliothèque nationale de France, manuscrit mexicain 399, Testeriano 4, fols. 21v–22r

must be reevaluated as a later phenomenon, a deliberate, archaizing renewal of pictorial writing.

Such a pictographic catechism is the focus of a book I am preparing in collaboration with Elizabeth Boone and David Tavárez. This exceptionally detailed manuscript, now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, comes from one of the indigenous districts of Mexico City. On folios 21v-22r, arrayed left to right, are the first five questions and answers from the *Catecismo breve* (1644) of Jesuit father Bartolomé Castaño (1601-1672), a doctrinal questionnaire adapted into many indigenous languages in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Reading the images into Nahuatl and then English, I translate as follows, line by line:

How many deities are there? Just one deity, God. Where is the deity, God? He is in heaven and on earth, in all places he is. Who made heaven and earth? It is he, the deity, God.

Who is the deity, God? He is the most holy Trinity. Who is the most holy Trinity? He is God the father, God the child, God the Holy Spirit, three persons, just one deity, God.

Nahuas of the city were staunchly pro-Franciscan: hence the elevation of a *frater minor* to the status of the Trinity in the pictograph in the fourth and fifth lines.

The later seventeenth century saw the emergence of other archaizing textual practices, but catechisms are the only fully pictographic genre. The choice of Christian doctrine as the forum for a revived pictographic literacy made perfect sense, for, in New Spain as in Spain, doctrinal handbooks served as reading primers. They were also the most widespread genre of printed book. Catechismal texts were the only writings people had to recite by heart, and the catechetical pictographs, which were never standardized, are readable only as mnemonic props for fixed, known texts. The pictography thus had a single textual and performance context.

As later-colonial community leaders petitioned for privileges and pressed claims to lands lost during the violence and plagues of the sixteenth century, they strategically rewrote history: their conquest-era forebears became instant allies of the Spanish invaders and queued for baptism as soon as a friar reached their town. This desire to represent themselves and their subjects as the Native American equivalent of what Spaniards considered Old Christians may have also fostered the use of pictographic catechisms. The manuscripts evoked the lost picture writing of the pre-Columbian past but also the early evangelization, when the ancestors learned Christian doctrine assisted by images because they were picture-literate but had not yet mastered the alphabet. Indeed, an anonymous Nahua writer inscribed such a scenario on BnF 399: he imagined the first Franciscans using these pictures to teach doctrine to don Pedro de Moteucçoma Tlacahuepan—a son of Emperor Moteucçoma—and other nobles back in 1524.

The manuscripts support the enactment of an identity that is Christian but also assertively "Indian." Native catechists who taught children with these pictures taught them to value pictography as well as to say their prayers. The memorization and recitation enforced by the Catholic church were among the many onerous burdens that colonized Mesoamericans had to bear. Some of them responded by turning the catechism into visual art that honored their ancestors while legitimizing their Christianity.

University at Albany, State University of New York Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 2012–2013

Louise M. Burkhart returned to her position as professor of anthropology at the University at Albany, State University of New York.



#### LYNNE COOKE

#### OUTSIDE IN: A STUDY OF THE INTERFACE BETWEEN MAINSTREAM AND SELF-TAUGHT ART IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The center, the professional art world, at once defines and depends upon its periphery, which it directly engages intermittently, in terms that constantly morph and mutate. The self-taught artist, an inhabitant of the margins, is a problematic modernist cultural construct whose definition has been subject to revision throughout this period. In restoring to the notion of the "outlier" its historical specificity—charting the debates that contextualized it generation by generation—much of the obfuscation and confusion that surround it disappears. An in-depth, historically grounded analysis of what are usually considered interchangeable monikers for the marginalized creator—folk, naïve, vernacular, visionary, and outsider artist—reveals the forms of investment, both theoretical and instrumental, made by professional artists, critics, gallerists, collectors, and curators in this fraught concept. This study of shifting relations between mainstream artists and autodidacts at key moments in the modernist and late modernist era is focused in the United States, where they have charted a very different course from the trajectory manifest in Western Europe during the same period.

Horace Pippin, Interior, 1944. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Meyer P. Potamkin, in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art My research currently suggests that the critical discourse and artistic exchanges between outliers and the mainstream American art world came to a head at three moments during the past century. On each occasion, this interface was vividly evidenced in landmark exhibitions initiated by museums devoted to the presentation of modern and contemporary art. In the earliest period, that is, circa 1926–1943, the

locus of this burgeoning exchange was New York, where two fledgling institutions, the Museum of Modern Art and the Whitney Studio Club (from 1931 the Whitney Museum of American Art), played seminal roles, initially through their embrace of traditional folk art as the prime locus of inspiration for a uniquely American vanguard modernism and then in their support for certain modes of the genre of popular painting exemplified in the work of the self-taught African American Horace Pippin (1888–1946). When the mainstream art world re-engaged with the widening category of the self-taught after World War II, in the period stretching from the late 1960s through the early 1980s, the existence of a viable living (as opposed to a traditional and hence defunct) national folk art was widely recognized, and a subset of that production became identified as outsider art. Originating as a historically bounded category, rooted in the preindustrial, largely rural, culture of the Northeast, circa 1750 to 1870, a twentieth-century folk art now came to be seen as something produced mainly in the South, in poor, and in many cases African American, agrarian communities. This redefinition, in turn, effected a radical shift in the paradigm governing the professional/self-taught interchange from a model based in center/periphery relations to one that would henceforth be limned in terms of parallel worlds.

As previously, these recharged conceptual constructions were figured through the vehicle of seminal shows and exhibition programs that were initiated by institutions on the East Coast. Though little remarked upon to date, curatorial endeavors and the critical reception they provoked were (in tandem with the aesthetic responses of professional artists) instrumental once again in reshaping the field. This project will consequently pay particular attention to exhibition histories and the formation of collections, both public and private, and to their reception in the critical literature generated in catalogues, professional journals, and the popular art press, as well as in diaries, biographies, and memoirs.

According to some cultural theorists, among other transformative social factors, changes in communications technologies and in medical practices relating to the mentally and physically challenged, together with rising levels of education, make it improbable that significant bodies of work will continue to be created by individuals whose biographies approximate that of the paradigmatic twentieth-century outsider artist. Those rare exceptions who challenge this endgame prognostication no

longer orbit in a parallel world but assume a place alongside the medley of makers of today's vastly expanded, globalized art world, their indifference to the tenets and protocols of artistic discourse seemingly no handicap to participation on what is deemed to be an even playing field. If formerly isolating definitions like "outsider" and "self-taught" are abandoned because they fail to serve a critical function, and the honorific of artist is unproblematically available to all, the subject addressed by this project would appear to have reached a terminus. Spanning the period from the mid-1990s to the present, the third section of this study will test these contentious claims.

New York City Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 2012–2013

In the second year of her professorship, 2013–2014, Lynne Cooke will finalize an exhibition proposal based on her research at CASVA and complete a draft of its accompanying publication.



#### THIERRY DE DUVE

## DUCHAMP'S MESSAGE, MANET'S TESTAMENT, BROODTHAERS' LESSON

When I was a CASVA fellow in the mid-1990s, my project was "The Notion of Artistic Convention in French Avant-Garde Painting in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century." I was able to gather a great deal of historical information and to initiate the interpretive stage of the long-term research program I still pursue today. Part of that material found its way into *Look: 100 Years of Contemporary Art* (2001). Another part, reworked over the years in a variety of seminars, led to a reformulation of the initial hypotheses around a more focused project, a "trilogy" on Édouard Manet (1832–1883), Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968), and Marcel Broodthaers (1924–1976), which would draw the contours of a historically argued theory of modernism in the visual arts.

The first decision I reached during my 2012–2013 term at CASVA was to relinquish the chronological order of the project's original title and to retitle it "Duchamp's Message, Manet's Testament, Broodthaers' Lesson." It made sense to start from the arrival of the news, carried by Duchamp's readymades, that the fine-arts system had been replaced by the art-in-general system in which we presently live and which is often described as a post-Duchamp art world—a misnomer in my opinion, for I see Duchamp as the messenger, not the author, of this change. Fountain, the most famous of Duchamp's readymades, appeared in 1917 at the first show of the New York Society of Independent Artists, modeled on the Paris Société des artistes indépendants. The latter's claim of independence from the state led me to follow a trail that led from

Jean-Baptiste Daniel-Dupuis, Medallion for the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, probably 1893. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Mark and Lynne Hammerschlag Fund in honor of Nicholas Penny

its creation in 1884 back to that of the Société des artistes français in 1881; to the disastrous 1880 Salon, the last one to have been held under the auspices of the Ministère des Beaux-Arts; and to the impressionist exhibitions of the 1870s, events that, taken together, tolled the knell of the whole state apparatus of the French Beaux-Arts system. Chapter 1 tells that story. In the process of writing it, I collected and verified a large amount of quantitative data regarding the Salon artists, jury, and audience, which will be most useful for chapter 2 as well as for the part of my project on Manet. If, as many believe, Manet is the first modernist painter, then the rules and the demographics of the Salon are relevant to our understanding of modernism. Indeed, Manet's pictorial testament, A Bar at the Folies-Bergère (1882), is an ambitious Salon painting. I am convinced that the nineteenth-century French Salon set the conditions for modernism in painting—which is not to say that those conditions determined or explained its aesthetic features in any way. The reinterpretation of modernism my project strives for does not recount (once again) the triumphal victory of the avant-garde over academicism. Neither does it aim at a revisionist upturning of the modernist canon. My method is a brand of social history of art that pursues an inquiry dictated by aesthetic questions.

Chapter 2 will deal with the reassessment of modernism in painting. I put it on the back burner because I found it more urgent to address historically the theoretical pivot of the whole trilogy: in the art-in-general system, in which anything can be art, are cases (for which Duchamp's readymades were prototypes) that call for an aesthetic decision as to whether a given object deserves to be called a work of art. In those cases, positive judgments take the form of "This thing is art." As long as the Beaux-Arts system was stable enough, aesthetic judgments were stated as "This painting is beautiful," "This piece of music is sublime," and so on. But in the peculiarly unstable conditions of the French Salon, a point was reached around 1860 where what was at stake was whether a given picture deserved to be called a painting at all—in the words of the critics of the time, un tableau. If not, the picture in question would fall into a strange limbo, which chapter 3 argues was the limbo of nonart, the limbo out of which Duchamp later pulled Fountain. Clement Greenberg thought Fountain demonstrated that art is not an honorific status. This is not for the critic to decide. Whether works of art enjoy

honorific status is best gauged by the status they confer on their makers in specific societal conditions. The nineteenth century rewarded academic artists with medals and laurels. Modernism has done away with the medals and laurels, but it saved the honor of art, which academicism had compromised.

Université Lille 3 (emeritus) William C. Seitz Senior Fellow, 2012–2013

In the fall 2013 semester, Thierry de Duve will be Kirk Varnedoe Visiting Professor at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.



#### ANNE DUNLOP

# CASTAGNO'S CRIME: ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO AND QUATTROCENTO ART

According to Giorgio Vasari, the Florentine painter Andrea del Castagno (c. 1419–1457) was an exceptional artist, a constant innovator, and a cold-blooded assassin. In both editions of *Lives of the Artists*, Vasari claimed that Andrea had murdered his fellow painter Domenico Veneziano (c. 1410–1461) because Domenico had brought the secret of oil painting to Florence, and Andrea was jealous of his success. He pretended to befriend Domenico, learned his secrets, and then struck him dead in a dark street. Only Andrea's deathbed confession, Vasari wrote, revealed the crime.

It was established in the nineteenth century that Domenico Veneziano actually outlived Andrea del Castagno by four years, and the few surviving documents on Andrea suggest an uneventful life. He was notably successful in his short career, working mostly in Florence for the elite circles around the Medici. Yet Vasari's tale is suggestive: what exactly was the nature of his supposed crime against art? As a Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, I have been working on a book manuscript on Andrea, and my research takes Vasari's tale as its starting point: despite his undoubted success, the painter's many innovations were often artistic dead ends. To show Saint Jerome's interior vision (Santissima Annunziata, Florence), for instance, Andrea took an image of the Trinity by Masaccio (1401–1428), rotated it ninety degrees, and had it emerge in a burst of blood red from Jerome's head, with Christ cut in two like a magician's dummy. On a parade shield in the National Gallery of Art collections, the Biblical

Andrea del Castagno, Portrait of a Man, c. 1450. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Andrew W. Mellon Collection shepherd boy David has already slain and decapitated Goliath, and yet he continues to swing—apparently at the viewer. This experimentation has also made Andrea's work hard to date or place: until quite recently, his portrait of an unknown man, also in the National Gallery of Art (c. 1450) was attributed to Piero Pollaiuolo (c. 1443–1496) and dated two decades after Andrea's death.

My research has had two goals. The first is to reexamine the painter's work. Andrea del Castagno is a central figure of the Italian Renaissance and appears in every survey textbook on the period. Yet the last full monograph on him was published by Marita Horster in 1980 and was based on research published thirty years before. More fundamentally, however, I am using Andrea's work to think through the visual and conceptual shifts in painting in mid-Quattrocento Florence, a place and space in which the idea of painting as an imaginative undertaking—an art form—was itself slowly coming into being. Important recent studies and theorizations of this moment have been driven, as I am driven, by the need to think through our own visual system by exploring its roots and genesis. Andrea del Castagno was part of the pivotal generation between Donatello (1386–1466), Masaccio, and Masolino (c. 1383–c. 1447) in the early century and Leonardo (1452–1519), Raphael (1483–1520), and Michelangelo (1475-1564) at the end of it. His work engaged with the central issues of Quattrocento art, from how to adapt one-point perspective to real-world viewing conditions to the problematic relation of "modern" art to tradition. In my work on Andrea, I want to explore the contradictions and limits of this emerging visual system through a particular position and practice within it.

I have divided my time at the Gallery between research and writing. Before arriving at CASVA I had gone through the documents and archival sources on the artist and examined and photographed all his surviving work. The Gallery holds works not only by Andrea but also by many of his contemporaries, including Domenico Veneziano. I have been able to examine the two paintings by Andrea himself, and access to the library and the collections has allowed me to sort out what we actually know about the painter and the painting, as opposed to what has been passed down in the literature. I will finish the year with a first draft of the manuscript in hand, and I am especially grateful for many conversations with National Gallery of Art conservators and with my

colleagues at CASVA on topics ranging from the use of oil paint by Piero della Francesca to the emergence of the "modern" artist. It will be a richer book because of these exchanges.

Tulane University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 2012–2013

Anne Dunlop will return to her post as associate professor of art history at Tulane University.





#### CECILIA FROSININI

# GIOTTO IN FLORENCE: SHEDDING NEW LIGHT ON THE PERUZZI CHAPEL

During my 2012 fellowship at CASVA I began to elaborate my study of the technical analyses carried out on the mural paintings by Giotto di Bondone in the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels in the basilica of Santa Croce in Florence. After enduring a long history of abuse, including damage accrued from whitewashing, in 1958–1961 both chapels were the focus of a restoration campaign conducted by Leonetto Tintori under the direction of Ugo Procacci. At the time, few forms of scientific analysis were available for fresco paintings, and in the intervening decades little attention was paid to the chapels from a technical point of view. Seeking a more precise understanding of Giotto's artistic technique in the late phase of his career, in 2009–2012 the Opificio delle Pietre Dure and its scientific partners carried out an investigation with the support of the Getty Foundation. The results of this campaign are being published as a book, currently under editorial revision in Italy.

Much of my attention this year has been devoted to studying the results collected in the Peruzzi Chapel by means of ultraviolet fluorescence photography. The observation of works of art under long-wave uv light, which makes visible specific characteristics of painted surfaces otherwise invisible to the naked eye, is one of the most commonly used noninvasive means of analysis for paintings. Depending on their chemical composition, certain materials, especially organic ones, produce differently colored fluorescence under uv light. The distinctive luminosities emitted under such conditions can differentiate or make evident the

Giotto di Bondone, Herod's Banquet, Peruzzi Chapel, basilica of Santa Croce, under natural light (top) and UV fluorescence. Opificio delle Pietre Dure e Laboratori di Restauro, Florence presence of substances that are not clearly distinguishable in visible light. Aged varnishes also emit different-colored fluorescence depending on their chemical makeup.

Examination of the paintings of the Peruzzi Chapel under uv light revealed extraordinary details. The causes for this unusual uv fluorescence are unknown, but many hypotheses are viable. The intonaco layer may have an unusual composition, causing the anomalous uv scattering, or the artist may have employed unconventional painting materials. Other factors may be related to aspects of the murals' conservation history, such as the removal of whitewash (which could have initiated a process of saponification) or the effects of past preservation treatments (probable albeit undocumented). Such treatments could have employed high-retention solvents or solvents that reacted strongly with organic materials in the paint layers. The presence of additional organic materials from previous treatments employing fixatives and consolidants or interaction between later restoration materials and the original materials may also be partially responsible.

Unusual fluorescence may also be due to the interaction of pigments and binders over time. The painting technique of the Peruzzi Chapel is generally considered to be *a secco*. Even if a more thorough analysis shows notable differences in technique from one part to another, it is most probable that the unusual results obtained by UV fluorescence are due to the use of the *a secco* technique and, in particular, the interaction between the binding medium that Giotto utilized and specific pigments. (It must be underlined that the analysis has shown the presence of numerous pigments incompatible with the technique of *buon fresco*, such as cinnabar, minium, malachite, verdigris, and orpiment.)

The current condition of the Peruzzi Chapel murals and the material contamination brought about through previous restoration campaigns has made definitive scientific analysis of the artist's technique difficult. The chemical analyses that were conducted on several areas of the painted decoration during our diagnostic campaign revealed the presence of lipids, but only in some parts. In general, a proteinaceous binder was detected, probably egg. It is possible, therefore, that the application of whitewash to the murals in the eighteenth century could have saponified superficial fatty substances, making them more difficult to detect.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the UV photos we gathered provide compelling physical evidence of the enormous importance of the Peruzzi murals for Giotto's contemporaries and ensuing generations of Florentine artists. In these photographs the damaged figures become three-dimensional again. We can see all the chiaroscuro effects, the construction of bodies under garments, and the architectural rendering of the buildings. Many details that were no longer visible resurface, such as the folds of the garments and the expressions of the faces. The UV fluorescence photographic campaign is worthy of a full monographic study in itself. It will further allow us to propose new hypotheses regarding the chronology of the cycle and its influence on the contemporary and later Florentine school of painting. If it was difficult to imagine how the wall paintings would have appeared when just completed, now we have some better insights.

All the photographic materials will be made available online after the publication of a book on the UV images and the speculations we may make from them regarding the original appearance of the Peruzzi Chapel murals.

Opificio delle Pietre Dure e Laboratori di Restauro, Florence Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professor, spring 2013

Cecilia Frosinini returned to her position at the Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence. She looks forward to the publication in late 2013 of the results of scientific investigation of Giotto's paintings in the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels carried out in 2009–2012, which she described in Center 32.



#### MEREDITH GAMER

# CRIMINAL AND MARTYR: ART AND EXECUTION IN BRITAIN, 1725 – 1801

The public executions held every eight weeks, first at Tyburn Field and later outside Newgate Prison, were among the most popular and well attended of eighteenth-century London's urban spectacles. They were also the point of origin, literally and figuratively, for a wide range of visual and material objects—from illustrated broadsides, to moralizing prints, to anatomical models cast from criminal corpses. In my dissertation, I argue that these objects, along with the very spectacle of execution itself, played a formative role in the making, viewing, and theorization of art in eighteenth-century Britain. In doing so, I aim also to forge an account of art and visuality in this period that encompasses religious as well as secular modes of seeing and representation and that stresses continuities rather than divisions between Europe's early modern and modern worlds.

I develop this argument in two stages. In chapter 1, I establish the public execution as a key site of eighteenth-century visual performance and display. Drawing upon a variety of contemporary sources (topographical prints, firsthand accounts, political pamphlets, and moral and aesthetic theory), I argue that this was a space in which the powers and limitations of spectacular punishment were dramatized and tested throughout the century. This first chapter lays the foundation for the subsequent four, each of which examines a particular point of intersection between eighteenth-century cultures of execution and art making.

William Hogarth,
The Reward of Cruelty,
plate 4 in The Four
Stages of Cruelty,
1751. National Gallery
of Art, Washington,
Rosenwald Collection

The first of these focuses on the four-part engraved series *The Four Stages of Cruelty*, by William Hogarth (1697–1764), which concludes with the hanging and dissection of its criminal antihero, Tom Nero. Hogarth's series has long been interpreted as a general critique of cruelty as it exists at all levels of society, high as well as low. In chapter 2, I argue that the series demands also to be understood within the specific context of ongoing debates over the ethics and efficacy of the public execution ritual. With the final plate in the series, titled *The Reward of Cruelty*, I argue, Hogarth sought to instill a new image of ignominious death in the minds of London's poor by exchanging one site of punitive justice (or, alternatively, one "stage of cruelty") for another—the scaffold for the dissection table.

Chapter 3 focuses on a group of anatomical models made between 1751 and 1775 by the surgeon William Hunter for use by members of London's Saint Martin's Lane Academy and the Royal Academy of Arts. Unlike the drawn or sculpted Continental examples on which they are based, Hunter's models are cast in plaster from the corpses of executed criminals, which he flayed and posed after well-known anatomical and classical iconographies before rigor mortis set in. In my ongoing investigation of these objects, I am aiming to recover not only the histories of their making and use but also the resonances they had for their first viewers. To what degree did they retain the affective and punitive associations of the execution ground? To what degree were these overwritten by the ostensible anonymity and objectivity of their anatomical idiom?

Chapter 4 takes as its starting point the late-century rise of the phrase "the sheriff's picture frame" as a metaphor for the scaffold. (It first appears in Francis Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* of 1785.) I consider this richly suggestive euphemism in light of two contemporary historical developments: first, the relocation in 1783 of public executions from Tyburn to the newly built "Newgate drop" and second, the emergence of the public art exhibition as a distinctly modern form of visual display. Through an examination of diverse visual and textual representations of these two new cultural spaces, I argue that the eighteenth-century execution ritual, particularly as it was reconceived at Newgate, simultaneously mimicked and inverted the social, moral, and affective functions of what was then the most common and quintessential of British visual art forms: the portrait.

My concluding chapter addresses a single, enigmatic object, which I have had the good fortune to discuss with many of my colleagues at CASVA this year. This is a life-size plaster cast of the posthumously crucified corpse of James Legg, who was hanged for murder in November 1801. The result of an experiment conceived by three members of the Royal Academy — Thomas Banks (1735–1805), Richard Cosway (1742–1821), and Benjamin West (1738–1820) — the so-called *Anatomical Crucifixion* was believed to offer an unprecedentedly accurate record of the physical effects of crucifixion. Like Hunter's earlier casts, this is an object that straddles, entwines, and destabilizes the seemingly disparate visual and physical worlds of the execution ground and the art academy. Even more important, I argue, it invites us to reconsider what was, or could be, a religious image at this moment in time.

[Yale University]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 2010–2013

During the 2013–2014 academic year, Meredith Gamer will complete her dissertation with the support of a Charlotte W. Newcombe Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship, which is administered by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.



## "PROSPER THOU OUR HANDYWORKS": PRINTS AND PROTESTANT DEVOTION AT LITTLE GIDDING, 1625-1642

During the summer of 1633, King Charles I passed near the estate of Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, England, the home since 1625 of Nicholas Ferrar (1592-1637) and his extended family. Ferrar's nieces, Mary and Anna Collet, had recently become known for a handmade Gospel concordance they had created by pasting text cut from the King James Bible and images clipped from religious prints into a large folio album. Having heard of this unusual book, Charles requested to borrow it for a brief period. Although the Collet sisters humbly protested the unworthiness of their handiwork for the eyes of a king, the request was granted, and indeed Charles held on to the concordance for some months, reading it on a daily basis and even putting his own annotations in the margins. After returning the book, Charles ordered a new one from the Collets for his own use, and in a year's time this album was presented to the king, much to his approval. When he received the concordance, he is reported to have said, "How happy a King were I if I had many more such workmen and women in my Kingdom! God's blessing on their hearts and painful hands!"

During my two-month residency at CASVA, I worked on my book "'Prosper Thou Our Handyworks': Prints and Protestant Devotion at Little Gidding," which examines the labor of those "painful hands" that between 1625 and the outbreak of civil war in 1642 produced thirteen surviving concordances, some used in the daily order of worship in Ferrar's household and others presented as gifts. While Ferrar was

Ferrar-Collet family, The Actions & Doctrine & other Passages touching our Lord & Sauior lesus Christ, 1635. British Library, © British Library Board, C.23.e.4

responsible for the conceptual organization of the text in these albums, the actual handiwork was that of the Collet sisters. They carried out their work in a room specially designed for the purpose, known as the Concordance Chamber, where prayers written on the walls—such as "Prosper Thou, O Lord, the work of our hands./O prosper Thou our handyworks"—reminded the sisters of the devotional value of their labors. In this room the Collets sifted through and selected works from the collection of Catholic religious prints amassed by their uncle during his travels on the European continent. Then, in the manner of collage, they cut and pasted whole prints or individual portions of prints, along with verses excised from the Bible, and composed them in artful arrangements on the page. Those who had the good fortune to peruse these volumes directed their praise not at the beauty of the books as aesthetic objects, but at the miraculous labor that went into their production. According to one account, the poet George Herbert (1593–1633), a recipient of one of the albums, felt blessed that he had lived "to see women's scissors brought to so rare a use as to serve at God's altar."

As Herbert's remark suggests, the feminine labor of needlework and embroidery — household arts for which the Collet sisters were also known—provides a lens through which their bookmaking can be understood and appreciated. The Collets made a reputation for themselves with their "scissorwork," and through this model of female handiwork they created a legitimate space for the religious image within the sometimes violently antivisual climate of the 1630s and 1640s. Yet their practice remained a conflicted one, and, indeed, an iconoclastic impulse informs their tactile approach to the visual image. At Little Gidding, they cut Catholic prints apart and often defaced or censored them before pasting them into the album. Like the actions of iconoclasts during the same period, such as the Puritan William Dowsing, who led a campaign of image breaking through the churches of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire in 1643 and 1644, the Collets' display their own "painful" struggle with the religious image and thus exhibit the self-policing against idolatry that was central to being Protestant.

"'Prosper Thou Our Handyworks'" will be the first book-length study of the Little Gidding Bible concordances, which over the past century have received occasional attention from literary scholars for their textual content but have virtually no presence within the discipline of art history. This lack of attention is surely due to art history's traditional privileging of the male artist's workshop, a tendency that has relegated the many domestic uses of prints to a secondary status within the discipline. But the use of scissors and paste at Little Gidding was a sophisticated form of pictorial thought: the traces of the compilers' labor are signs of the Collets' "painful hands" and therefore a crucial and considered aspect of how these albums signified for their audiences. By foregrounding this labor, my book extends early modern print history beyond the printmaker's studio while exploring the ways in which an early modern Protestant community could productively engage with religious images, including those produced for a Catholic audience.

University of Minnesota Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, June 18 – August 15, 2012

Michael Gaudio returned to his position as associate professor of art history at the University of Minnesota for the fall 2012 semester. In spring 2013 he was a residential faculty fellow at the University of Minnesota Institute for Advanced Study.



#### CYNTHIA HAHN

### THE RELIQUARY EFFECT

"What is a reliquary?" It is no coincidence that many people I encounter believe they have never heard the word, although they are confident of the meaning of "relic." If the reliquary can be said to be a container, a box, it is akin to the gift box. As it performs its function of presentation, it is erased in the "presence" of the relic. Thus, precisely as the precious reliquary is materiality glorified, sparkling silver, gold, and gems, it simultaneously denies its own existence, standing only as a setting or context for the staging of the relic. Without the "script" supplied by labels and inscriptions, without the set design and lighting of brilliant substances, without the supporting cast of other relics and sacred things in the surrounding treasury, however, the relic remains mute—a silent and speechless thing, not even an "object" responding to a subject. Ultimately, the reliquary *makes* the relic.

Reliquaries take on this role as a necessity. In an essay in *The Social Lives of Things*, a book Arjun Apppadurai introduces by proposing "the conceit that commodities, like persons, have social lives," Patrick Geary identifies relics as commodities. Their lack of identity, their neutrality and flexibility, is the very quality that allows relics to be put into service as gifts, as well as shaped by story, culture, and context into the ultimate objects of desire and even theft. But, just as once sought-after commodities become valueless as fashionable turns to unfashionable, reliquary presentations are called upon to perform in an unstable environment of desire and are subject to constant change and remaking. Reliquary

Reliquary cross, Spanish, 1550/1575, with late nineteenthcentury alterations, enameled gold, rock crystal, diamonds, emerald, rubies, and glass pearls. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Widener Collection shapes are edited and revised; for example, from opaque reliquaries obscuring abject pieces of body in the early Middle Ages, to crystal ones that—in a wonderful reversal—celebrate the materiality of relics. In the later Middle Ages, the relic matter itself was seemingly brought under scrutiny, floating behind sparkling gems, often presented in the luxury of fine cloth and shining metal, but ultimately difficult to *see*.

Following the publication of my book *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries*, 400–circa 1204 and the exhibition *Objects of Devotion and Desire*, which I co-curated with my students at Hunter College, comparing medieval reliquaries and contemporary art, I have been commissioned by Reaktion Press to write a book on relics and reliquaries that moves outside medieval boundaries. This has been my primary project at CASVA.

A first area of concern was to address the complications that occur, in terms of space and design, in reliquaries of the late medieval and Renaissance periods. My colloquium addressed the spatial ductus of such constructions in terms of the Old Testament injunction to measure the Temple (Ezekiel 40). I tried to show how the complex, often architectural construction of reliquaries of this period stimulated the religious imagination and an understanding of the larger meaning of relics.

More of a challenge for a student of the Middle Ages was the investigation of the issues involved in post-Tridentine reliquary presentation. Rather than create ever more complex reliquaries of possibly obscure meaning, artists returned to tried and true reliquary types that were nonetheless displayed in spectacular reliquary presentations. Beginning with a selection of intriguing examples of such presentations—in Bavaria at Waldsassen and in Portugal at Alcobaça and Sao Roque in Lisbon, hardly familiar locations—I traveled to sites, produced photographic documentation, and investigated their history, imagery, and art. I would argue that, although the baroque is one of the eras most committed to reliquary creation and display, it is also one of the least studied.

Finally, I conclude my stay at CASVA working on the last portion of the essay, that is, considering the way in which modern and contemporary artists and patrons mine the structures of reliquary creation, use, and presentation to give added meaning to their own artistic visions. As a patron Napoleon created both religious and historical reliquaries to magnify his position and the glory of his court. Contemporary artists such as Joseph Beuys (1921–1986), Paul Thek (1933–1988), and Anselm Kiefer (b. 1945) use the reliquary effect to amplify the indexical charge of their work and to frame and package it in order to focus on viewer interaction.

Hunter College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 2012–2013

Cynthia Hahn will spend the summer completing a draft of "The Reliquary Effect" and will return to teaching at Hunter and the Graduate Center, CUNY, in fall 2013.



#### MARIUS BRATSBERG HAUKNES

## THE IMAGE OF THE WORLD IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ROME

The early thirteenth-century fresco cycles in the cardinal's palace at Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome and the crypt of the cathedral of Anagni comprise dense assemblages of knowledge in visual form. In addition to their encyclopedic subject matter—zodiacs, constellations, the months, vices and virtues, the liberal arts, the microcosm—the two cycles share a visual language that employs personification, allegory, and diagrams. But the most striking common feature of these fresco programs is their attempt to represent pictorially all fields of available knowledge in a comprehensive and systematic way. Collectively, the two mural works usher in a new category of monumental art in medieval Italy, the aims of which are captured in the period's term for encyclopedia, *imago mundi*, or image of the world.

This important artistic development occurred in the unexpected cultural-historical context of the thirteenth-century papal court. Until now it has been assumed that the thematization of temporal knowledge in the visual arts emerged instead in the courts of secular rulers and the thriving communes and university towns of Siena, Florence, and Padua. According to this conventional narrative, artistic innovation in Rome was stifled by the conservative attitude of popes and cardinals who remained content to rebuild their basilicas in the image of the early Christian originals and to repaint these basilicas with new versions of the same pictures of saints and Biblical stories that had originally adorned them. My dissertation overturns this art-historical narrative by foregrounding

Anagni cathedral, crypt, frescoes depicting the microcosm in the vault, a syzygy diagram of the elements on the pillar, and a conversation between Hippocrates and Galen in the lunette, c. 1230–1250. Author photograph

the pivotal role Roman artists and their curial sponsors played in creating what might be described as a new painting of knowledge.

Recent scholarship has demonstrated the ways in which the papal court cultivated interests in the natural sciences with greater intensity in the thirteenth century than in earlier epochs. In this process, the curia became one of the most important arenas for the translation and dissemination of Greek and Arabic texts, as well as for the production of new scientific works in the fields of alchemy, optics, medicine, and astronomy. Popes and cardinals of the thirteenth century considered their courts rivals to those of rulers elsewhere in the Mediterranean world, such as Frederick II in Sicily and Alfonso of Castile in Spain.

The monumental fresco cycle was exceptionally equipped to represent, address, and analyze the structural changes in thirteenth-century knowledge. The mural painter could integrate new knowledge into a revised image of the world, and, through a variety of pictorial devices, such as the use of color and framing, could create the effect of a unified whole. In this process, and for the first time in the history of medieval art, complex diagrams and other scientific imagery were transposed from the realm of manuscript illumination to that of monumental wall painting. The representation of the microcosm and the syzygy diagram of the elements in the Anagni crypt are important examples of this transformation.

Perhaps more important than the pictorial devices available to the muralist, in mural painting the figured surface is inseparable from the architectural fabric in which it is embedded, and this quality endows the medium with unique spatial characteristics. In both Santi Quattro Coronati and Anagni the painters took full advantage of the mural's possibilities to create three-dimensional, inhabitable images. Both fresco cycles therefore produce a viewing experience that is opposed to that produced by an illuminated manuscript. Whereas the manuscript might rest in the hands of its viewer, the fresco cycle wraps itself around the beholding subject, effectively reversing the phenomenological terms of viewer reception.

The mural cycles in Santi Quattro Coronati and the Anagni crypt mark a fundamental shift in the history of medieval art; a transformation of monumental painting from the customary icons and narratives toward a new painting of encyclopedic knowledge. In the analysis of this development, my dissertation asks which cultural circumstances made possible, and perhaps even required, the emergence of a new art form as well as what deeper religious and philosophical concerns motivated the gathering and affirmation of the world's knowledge in a single image. The guiding thesis of the project is that the encyclopedic fresco cycle reshaped the relationship of art to knowledge by responding to the period's wide-reaching exchange of texts, artifacts, and technology in the Mediterranean region. I argue that the crypt in Anagni and the painted palace in Santi Quattro Coronati respond to their historical circumstances of epistemic change and take on an important heuristic function. Both cycles furnished virtual models of the world, and in this capacity they could operate as arenas in which competing models of knowledge could be compared and contrasted.

[Princeton University]
Twenty-Four-Month Chester Dale Fellow, 2011–2013

Marius Bratsberg Hauknes will spend the coming academic year as a graduate fellow at the Princeton Institute of International and Regional Studies.



## PLACES TO STAND: HISTORIES OF NATIVE ART BEYOND THE NATION

In 1988 Cherokee activist and artist Jimmie Durham (b. 1940) wrote, "I feel fairly sure that I could address the whole world, if only I had a place to stand." Following the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the spread of postcolonial theory, Durham voiced the frustrations of a generation of Native American artists and intellectuals that the United States and Canada continued to occupy not only the lands of indigenous peoples but also the very field of their representation. Durham and other politically engaged artists of the AIM generation have since joined their international peers to participate in networks of art biennales and studio residencies abroad. In my dissertation, "Places to Stand: Histories of Native Art Beyond the Nation," I consider the aesthetic, conceptual, and historical dimensions of their travels beyond national borders. I work to wrest a conversation about Native American art history from the impasse Durham described, by considering a wider range of places to stand.

One key aim of my study is to characterize the relationship between the recent transnational work of AIM artists and earlier critiques of the displacement of native peoples *inside* their colonial nations of birth. For this reason I begin my account in the 1980s, following the failed promise of AIM to reoccupy national territory for the purposes of indigenous empowerment. Fueled by this negative lesson, Native American artists and allied scholars launched the most potent critique of colonial nationalism to date. Much of the critical literature of the 1980s celebrated the

Jimmie Durham, Encore Tranquilité, 2009. Museé d'art moderne de la Ville de Paris. Author photograph; reproduced courtesy of the artist native artist as a liminal "postmodern" trickster, whose marginal status vis-à-vis dominant centers of power was revalued and put to work as a tool of resistance. At the same time, trickster discourse echoed a long-standing European modernist trope of artistic exile and presaged the privileged itinerancy that would come to characterize the global biennale system. As contemporary art historian Miwon Kwon and others have noted, professional artists today hop from one studio residency and art biennale to the next, turning the terrain of geopolitics into a generic itinerary: "one place after another."

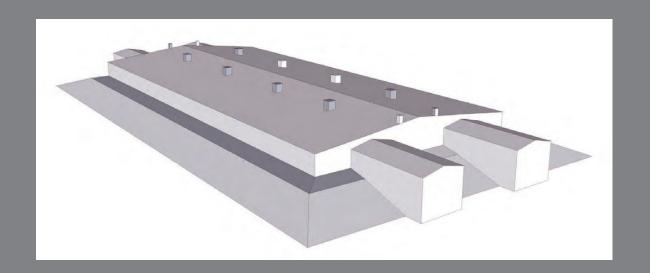
Given that traumatic cycles of loss structure so many Native American subjects' relationship to place, privileged itinerancy might seem to offer artists a seductive opportunity to move on. As some art historians have argued, Durham, James Luna (b. 1950), Edgar Heap of Birds (b. 1954), Robert Houle (b. 1947), and others can finally transcend the entrenched identity politics that characterized their work of earlier decades. to become "post-Indian" or "just contemporary artists." Devoting three chapters to close readings of select projects made by Durham, Luna, and Houle for sites abroad, I reveal the "post" to be a mischaracterization. Even as they inhabit current global conditions of flux alongside nonnative peers, their recent work problematizes a long-celebrated trope of artistic mobility in all its guises: modernist exile, postmodern liminality, and privileged itinerancy. In particular, multimedia installations in cities such as London, Venice, and Paris trade unmitigated transnational mobility for a kind of temporal agility, grounding the materials on view in forgotten stories of indigenous ancestors who traveled before them. This apparent paradox forms the crux of my argument: native artists' search for "a place to stand," recently figured as movement beyond the nation, has inspired counterintuitive forms of return.

The contemporary works I discuss contain an implicit challenge to art historians in that they creatively address omissions in a historiography of Native American art largely framed by national borders. Construing my dissertation as a lengthy response to their provocation, I devote two chapters to tracing additional, forgotten histories of Native American art in Europe. My research in neglected archives abroad reveals that in the 1930s the first professional Native American painters of the twentieth century were also sending work to the Trocadéro in Paris, the Venice Biennale, and beyond, helping to establish exhibition trajectories that

artists of the AIM generation repeated seven decades later. Like the contemporary installations I discuss, their paintings simultaneously embodied and struggled against constitutive conditions of mobility. I argue that across the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, expanded geographies have broadened the conceptual possibilities available to native artists grappling with displacement inside their nations of birth, while inspiring unexpected reinvestments in indigenous histories from afar.

[University of Rochester] Wyeth Fellow, 2011–2013

During the 2013–2014 academic year, Jessica L. Horton will transform her dissertation into a book with the support of a Smithsonian Postdoctoral Fellowship. She will receive mentorship from the Smithsonian American Art Museum and the National Museum of the American Indian.



## CULTURAL FANTASIES, IDEOLOGICAL GOALS, AND POLITICAL ECONOMIC REALITIES: THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AT AUSCHWITZ

Few subjects are less suited to the aesthetic and intellectual considerations of art-historical debate than the banal everyday architecture of the SS concentration camp at Auschwitz. Although the camp has had a central position in historical studies, it has, with rare exceptions, rated no more than a mention in art history as a backdrop to postwar memorialization. And yet, the archive of the camp's architectural office is one of the largest depositories of evidence we have of a single building office's activity during the Nazi regime. Looking at both the archival record and a digital reconstruction of the design of the space that also visualizes construction patterns over time, my project asks what these varied spaces and structures, which may be considered to represent an urban vernacular, tell us about the perpetrators and their architectural goals as well as the victims and their experience of the built environment.

To get to this question, the study focuses particularly on the relatively little-analyzed period after the finalization of what the SS considered its ideal comprehensive plan in early 1943. Much of Auschwitz-Birkenau and other key sites of the Auschwitz environment were vast construction zones at this time. Building activity shifted between the long-term goals of the ideal plan and the short-term needs of both genocide and forced labor. This project uses the analysis of architectural plans related to Auschwitz, changes in what may be considered its urban design, and realized SS structures to investigate spatial relationships, cultural values, and political realities as they developed both before and after spring

SS Zentralbauleitung, potato storage hall, Auschwitz, 1943, digital reconstruction by Chester Harvey, 2010. Photograph courtesy of Chester Harvey 1943. In addition, with my collaborator, the historical geographer Anne Kelly Knowles, I will investigate these problems not only through archival evidence but also through the visualization of that archive through geographic information systems (GIS) and other digital means.

At CASVA, I was able to further this work by expanding my historical analysis in two ways. First, I had access through the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum to the archival record of the SS Zentralbauleitung (central building administration), which extended the primary source materials at the base of our study. Second, I began to synthesize these results with fundamental aspects of art-historical thought. In broad terms, the question was, how can digital-humanities concepts of scale and a systemwide (network) analysis be suggestively brought into dialogue with art history? The work of Arnold Hauser (1892-1978) on the social history of art proved especially fruitful in exploring this question. Hauser's key book, The Philosophy of Art History, as well as his myriad essays, both well known and obscure, available in the National Gallery of Art Library, provided a crucial means of expanding on what is art historical in the digital humanities and relating this new subfield to specific questions in architectural history. Hauser emphasized thinking relationally about social historical evidence and attending to granular detail as well as to a systemic perspective. His works grapple particularly with the role of mediation between the artistic and the social, a problem that has been at the center of both defenses and critiques of the social history of art. These terms and issues can be pushed and analyzed through digital tools, which can model the use of vast quantities of social art-historical evidence at different scales.

Scalar analysis is important for understanding the architecture of Auschwitz and the place of construction more generally within the SS camp system, as it helps us to articulate the relationship of the individual building and site to the systemic thinking underlying the whole plan. In addition, it highlights the many kinds of vernacular buildings at the site, from barracks to common single-family houses, from saunas and industrial facilities to schools and barbershops. Dell Upton has frequently argued that such structures have remained mostly unanalyzed in architectural history. As such an analysis my project could be usefully extended into other urban-scaled examples. GIS and the 3D rendering of buildings allow us to see how the temporal scale of construction and

the spatial scale of its distribution as a forced-labor activity through the camp system at times formed the dominant expression of the built environment. In the digital mode, the vernacular (as opposed to one-of-a-kind, architect-designed buildings) comes to the fore as the dominant visual component of the building process—that is, at the experiential level of architecture. This result is hard to see in the archival evidence but comes out clearly with these new tools, above all in our visualizations. Hence, the digital exploration of the built environment leads us to emphasize different art-historical subjects—in this case, vernacular structures—and, indeed, leads us to conclude that the object of art history changes with the scale of our analysis. In so doing, it allows us to rethink the social art-historical project.

DePaul University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, September 1—October 31

In January 2013 Paul Jaskot took up residence as the Visiting Autrey Fellow at Rice University's Humanities Research Center, where he will continue his work on art history, digital humanities, and the question of scale. He will return to his position as professor of art history at DePaul University in fall semester 2013.



# NOBILIBUS PINACOTHECAE SUNT FACIUNDAE: THE INCEPTION OF THE ROMAN FICTIVE PICTURE GALLERY

In the middle of the first century BCE, Roman muralists began to place representations of independent works of art within their compositions. By the Augustan period and the decoration of the suburban estate known as the Villa della Farnesina, the depiction of fictive works of art set among illusionistically painted architectural forms was a dominant pictorial strategy in Roman frescoes. In two walls from cubiculum E of the Farnesina alone, fourteen fictive artworks are visible, not including representations of architectural sculpture. We may observe four statues resting on bases, six small rectangular white-ground panel paintings, two rectangular shuttered paintings, and two large, vertically oriented white-ground panel paintings, one in the center of each wall. In each composition, the fictive, independent works are supported and enframed by the representation of a modified and abstracted stage front, or scaenae frons, of a theater building.

The painted wall, in this room and others in the city of Rome and throughout Campania, became a staging point for the fictive picture art collection, dominated by the representation of panel painting. In such compositions, one level of mimetic rhetoric—the immersive illusion that the viewer stands inside a well-appointed, highly articulated large architectural space, rather than a small, painted room—is interrupted by a second level of mimetic rhetoric—the fictive panel painting. Every fictive panel bears its own representational content. Some show moments from the mythological tradition, others still lifes, genre scenes, erotic

Villa della Farnesina, cubiculum E, bed alcove, c. 28–19 BCE. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme. Photograph: Scala/ Art Resource, NY (Luciano Romano) scenes, scenes of sacrifice, and even landscapes. But all are distinctly second-order fictions, paintings of paintings.

Traditional accounts of Roman wall painting have largely focused on questions of chronology, style, or iconography, although recent decades have seen increased interest in its social significance and its semiotic and literary qualities. My dissertation, conversely, centers on questions of format and modes of display. It seeks to understand how, in the course of the second half of the first century BCE, Roman wall painting was transformed from an art primarily engaged in the exploration of pictorial space into one primarily interested in the depiction of other kinds of art. On the one hand, the project investigates the compositional principles of paintings in the fictive picture gallery style and seeks to understand the pictorial logic that sustains them. On the other, it attempts to situate the murals within the larger context of artistic production, consumption, and display in Rome during the late republic and early empire. I examine paintings in the early fictive picture gallery style from the points of view of contemporary Roman attitudes to art, including religious, political, ethical, aesthetic, and historical discourses.

I also employ the paintings, in turn, as a lens through which other Roman cultural practices may be reevaluated. By incorporating the imitation of panel painting into the mural tradition of the first century BCE, the artists and patrons of these paintings folded a style of painting traditionally coded as Greek into one traditionally coded as Roman. This act of embedding, the dissertation seeks to demonstrate, gave the fictive picture gallery a role in the much more widespread reevaluation of the function of Greek culture in Roman life that was taking place in the late republic and early empire. Understood as part of a larger response to a social issue, the style achieves a socially significant dimension.

Equally important to the study are the complex connections between the fictive picture gallery and the earlier history of Mediterranean art. The murals explored in my dissertation established a new tradition in Roman wall painting that would endure for more than a century, but they did so by self-consciously conceiving that tradition as a point of interaction with earlier painting practices. In the relations they stage between panel and mural, past and present, and authority and novelty, these murals reveal key facets of Roman artistic thought. Indeed, in the interpenetration of multiple modes of artistic presentation within a single medium, they figure fundamental aspects of the Romans' conception of art's very ontology. They both elucidate and interrogate the conditions of production and consumption regulating the ancient Roman art world. And in so doing, the project argues, the murals of the fictive picture gallery style reach beyond the normal confines of the visual arts to achieve the status of a theoretical discourse. Antiquity has left behind no treatise or disquisition dedicated solely to the visual arts. In the case of the fictive picture gallery, however, where writers were silent, painting finds its voice.

[Yale University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 2010–2013

In fall 2013 Nathaniel B. Jones will begin a position as assistant professor of art history and archaeology at Washington University in St. Louis.



#### STUART LINGO

### BRONZINO'S BODIES: FORTUNES OF THE IDEAL NUDE IN AN AGE OF REFORM

In 1552 Agnolo Bronzino (1503–1572) installed his monumental altarpiece Christ in Limbo in a chapel beside the principal portal of Santa Croce, one of the most frequented churches in Florence. The panel immediately occasioned intense debate. It was hailed as an artistic triumph, in part because it amply displayed Bronzino's command of the beautiful nudes so admired in much Central Italian art of the period. The very prominence of the nude, however, made the work's success as an altarpiece more debatable. Alfonso de' Pazzi (1509–1555), an aristocratic poet notorious for biting sarcasm, imagined a worshiper entering the church to pray and confronting Bronzino's showpiece: "Excuse the painter, you who stop and stare, for his intention was to form Christ, the saints, and all that—but he mistook a brothel for Paradise." De' Pazzi's barbed verses destabilize period and modern readings that see physical beauty in religious art as reflecting divine beauty and goodness and point to a culture at odds with itself about the status and purpose of contemporary art, particularly religious art. The book on which I am working probes this impasse and contends that the determination to place the ideal nude at the core of some of the most ambitious sixteenthcentury Italian religious art represents a daring experiment that remains insufficiently interrogated.

Agnolo Bronzino, Christ in Limbo, 1552, Santissima Annunziata, Florence. Art Resource, NY (Nicolo Orsi Battaglini)

In a papal Rome ever more concerned with religious upheaval throughout Europe, Michelangelo's unprecedented investment in the nude in sacred art came under increasing scrutiny from the 1540s, par-

ticularly amid the polemics stimulated by his *Last Judgment*, unveiled in the Sistine Chapel in 1541. In Florence, however, the Medici dukes continued for a time to tolerate and even encourage the art of the nude in their determination to maintain Florentine primacy in the developing culture wars of Italy. In this context, Bronzino pursued experiments that extended and transformed Michelangelo's proposals in critical ways. He brought the nude from the papal chapel, with its restricted audience, to urban churches frequented by a broad public. Further, despite the marmoreal surfaces of many of Bronzino's mature works, I would contend that from early in his career he explored the fertile tensions inherent in an idealizing style with intertwined roots in canonical artistic sources and life drawing, allowing traces of the studio and the model to surface in ostensibly ideal figures. This investment, although acutely registered by de' Pazzi, has been little studied. It has been the focus of my research at CASVA.

The tensions between life and art were built into the subject of one of Bronzino's first significant commissions, *Pygmalion* of c. 1529–1530. Intended as the cover for a portrait of the handsome young patrician Francesco Guardi (1514–1554) by Jacopo Pontormo (1494–1557), the panel is a precocious meditation on art's fraught engagement with the body, desire, and Venus. Rich with allusive references to the canons of art, the work also compels reflection on the real bodies of life drawing as Bronzino dramatizes a classical sculpture becoming flesh, its arresting gaze implicating the beholder as a new Pygmalion. The issues the painting stages—the affecting power of images and the tensions between the sources and ambitions of representation—became recurring themes for Bronzino in several of his most significant mature religious works.

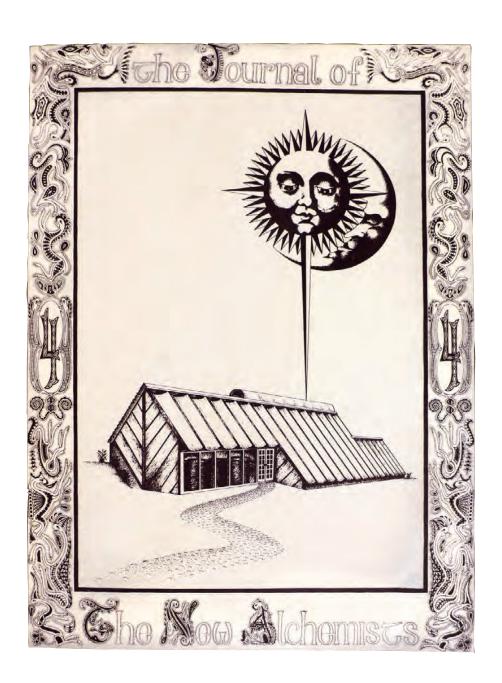
Christ in Limbo exemplifies these, and it is Bronzino's "Last Judgment," a programmatic assertion of the power of his art in an increasingly contentious cultural environment. To celebrate his command of the rich Florentine artistic tradition and of a range of pictorial genres, Bronzino explores the signifying potential of alluring feminine beauty as well as the heroic Michelangelesque male nude and joins ideal bodies with portraits of prominent Florentines. Remarkably, Bronzino seems to identify his enterprise most closely with the Biblical heroine Judith, whose prominent figure in the right foreground of the altarpiece conjoins an idealized body with the face of Costanza da' Sommaia, a young

aristocrat renowned for her beauty and virtue. Like Pygmalion's statue, Costanza fixes the viewer with a riveting gaze, demanding attention to her beauty and, through that surface, to the pictorial, cultural, and religious discourses she embodies.

Bronzino's art thus becomes a site in which the allure, the power, and the inherent instability of a Christian art of sensual beauty are self-consciously staged and explored. The manner in which his religious works meditate on their own fashioning and the status of their claims have impressed, confused, and disturbed observers from the sixteenth century to the present. Resisting univocal interpretation or appropriation, the ambivalent bodies of Bronzino's paintings are ideal figures through which to probe the experimental, radical, and ultimately fragile Renaissance investment in the nude in sacred art.

University of Washington, Seattle Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 2012–2013

Stuart Lingo will return to his position as associate professor of art history at the University of Washington, Seattle, for the 2013–2014 academic year.



### SOURCES OF THE ALTERNATIVE ARCHITECTURE MOVEMENT

The countercultural movement of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States has normally been studied in terms of its effects rather than its causes. I have been researching the underlying ideas that sustained the movement, using as a starting point the books and articles recommended to readers in Stewart Brand's hugely successful Whole Earth Catalog (2.5 million copies sold in 1973). Although the publication represented a wide variety of literary genres—from scientific abstracts to works on spirituality—a common theme emerges. In opposition to the specialization of modern society, the authors promoted a more holistic and human understanding of the world. For example, one of the books they highlighted was Heinrich Engel's *The Japanese House: A Tradition for Contemporary Architecture* (1964), which included not only precise structural details but also an extended explanation of the traditions and beliefs associated with the Japanese home.

One of the cases I studied while at CASVA, as part of my work on a documentary history of alternative architecture, was that of the New Alchemy Institute (NAI), an indoor and outdoor research laboratory on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, an exemplar of engagement in scientific research in support of an alternative lifestyle.

Environmental scientist John Todd, aquaculturist William McLarney, and writer Nancy Jack Todd cofounded the NAI in 1969 to carry out research in the biology of self-sustaining food production systems. Their aim was to demonstrate how a small farm could be made almost

The Journal of the New Alchemists, volume 4 (1977), cover. Library of Congress self-sufficient without damaging the environment. As with many other groups in the alternative culture of the 1960s and 1970s, the institute was a response to concerns about degradation of the land, the food chain, and human health by the use of chemicals in agriculture, the consequences of industrialization, and patterns of consumption that resulted in monocultures and the exhaustion of the soil. Like most American groups of its kind, the NAI emphasized practical experimentation, learning by doing, and personal commitment.

But the aims of the NAI were not purely scientific. In reviewing the Todds' book *Bioshelters*, *Ocean Parks*, *City Farming: Ecology as the Basis of Design*, Carl H. Hertel compared the New Alchemists' "firm belief in the relationship between mindscape and landscape," in the "interconnectedness between the human and non-human worlds" to the thinking of the twelfth-century scholastic Hugh of St. Victor, who "viewed science as a search of remedy to human weakness." "From this perspective," Hertel wrote, "science works with natural models to heal and remedy what humans have wrought instead of working to dominate or exploit Nature. Similarly, the New Alchemy Institute practices a kind of Science of the Concrete." In this vein, the NAI emphasized small-scale, decentralized organization and ecological modeling, an attitude that contrasts with the dominant cultural, scientific, and technological practices of the industrialized world.

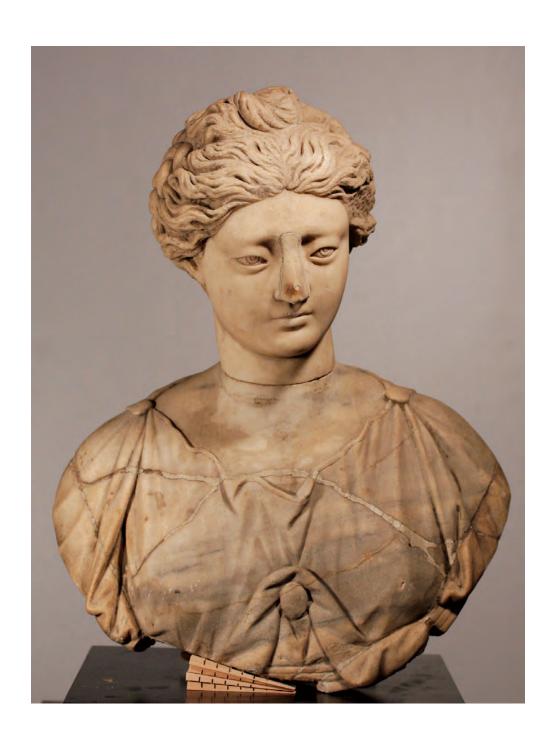
Unlike many other groups, the institute outlived the period of the counterculture and created a number of satellites, some of which are still active. This survival was due in part to the professional management of the project and in part to its success in inspiring and gaining converts to its cause. Another distinctive feature was its willingness to search for funding and to integrate its aims, at least to a limited extent, with those of the market.

As I studied the well-produced publication *The Journal of the New Alchemists* at the Library of Congress, a vivid image of life in this community became clear. Its emphasis on experimentation and learning by doing, its evangelical zeal, its commitment to pass on beliefs and

knowledge to future generations, all reflect ideas related to those of the editorial board of the *Whole Earth Catalog*.

Université Paris-Est/École nationale supérieure d'architecture Paris-Malaquais Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, November 1 – December 30, 2012

Caroline Maniaque-Benton has returned to her position as associate professor in the École nationale supérieure d'architecture Paris-Malaquais. "Whole Architecture: A Field Guide," which she is coediting with Simon Sadler, will be published by The MIT Press.



#### FRANK MARTIN

# ANTIQUE PORTRAITS IN THE DRESDEN SCULPTURE COLLECTION: THEIR USE AND REUSE IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The collection of antique sculpture now in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden, among the most substantial of its genre in Germany, was probably the most important repository of antiquities north of the Alps when Augustus II (1670–1733), elector of Saxony and king of Poland from 1697, undertook to acquire it. The collection derives from two principal sources: the antiquities that formerly belonged to Flavio Chigi (1631–1693) and those that belonged to Frederick III (1657–1713), elector of Brandenburg and from 1701 king of Prussia.

The largest number of objects came from the estate of Chigi, nephew of Pope Alexander VII, who, upon settling in Rome at the beginning of the 1660s, began collecting antique statues for his palazzo opposite Santi Apostoli. Chigi's collection gives a good insight into the Roman art market, from which he obtained most of his antiquities. Though primarily interested in statues, especially those resembling famous prototypes in other Roman collections, Chigi also purchased portraits. These were almost always composites, made of antique heads mounted on modern busts. Their hybrid nature in some cases contributed to the legibility of the head, providing evidence for its identity, and in others enhanced its decorative quality. The latter aspect seems to have been the more important to Chigi, whose antique portrait collection does not bespeak a program.

During my residency at CASVA, I focused on ascertaining who, among the sculptors active in Chigi's circle, could have been responsible for

Octavia, antique (?) with late sixteenth-century integrations. Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunst-sammlungen Dresden. Photograph: Reinhard Seurig

the production of the busts. This research turned out to be difficult, as only in a very few cases did the documents provide relevant detail; the description of most of the objects was too generic to distinguish them within the collection. A closer inspection of the busts themselves, however, especially from the back, in some cases revealed unmistakable common origins that will provide interesting material for future research in collections of the period.

The second group of antique busts in Dresden came from Berlin, where they had been collected by Elector Fredrick III in the late seventeenth century, before they were given to Augustus II by Fredrick William I of Prussia (1688–1740) sometime between 1723 and 1726. Fredrick III had not only shown particular interest in busts but had also purchased the entire collection of Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696), consisting mainly of small bronze objects. The collection was prestigious because of Bellori's fame as the author of *Le vite de' pittori*, *scultori e architetti moderni* (1672) as well as of a number of internationally renowned publications on Roman antiquity. Parts of Bellori's collection were published together with a number of busts in 1701 in the third volume of Lorenz Beger's *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus selectus* (1701), giving the impression that all of this material could also have belonged to Bellori's collection.

Doubts first arose with the recent publication of three lists that seem to be copies of Bellori's earlier inventories but contain no reference to antique portraits. Moreover, the research I conducted on the Dresden busts at CASVA attested in two hitherto unknown cases to a provenance deriving from the collection of Andrea Vendramin (c. 1565–1629), sold after his death to the Reynst brothers and brought to Amsterdam. There parts of it were reproduced in prints, published in 1670 (Signorum veterum icones per D. Gerardum Reynst urbis Amstelaedami senatorem) shortly before the collection was liquidated by Gerard Reynst's widow and sold to other collectors (among them Elector Fredrick III). One illustration in Signorum veterum icones shows the portrait of a woman titled Octavia, also listed under the same name in the collection of Andrea Vendramin. It does not appear in Beger's Thesaurus Brandenburgicus selectus, but the work is documented (without a title) in Raymond Leplat's Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la galerie du roy de Pologne à Dresden. In Dresden, where my inquiries helped to retrieve the bust,

it was thought to be baroque, probably because whatever antique components it contained were hardly recognizable. It cannot be baroque, however, because it must date from the period when the object was part of the Vendramin collection. Seen against this background, the style of the work in fact reveals characteristics of late sixteenth-century northern Italian sculpture. Closer inspection of the bust will provide interesting insights into the Vendramin collection, of which *Octavia* is among the few known remaining examples.

Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften/Freie Universität Berlin Scholar in Residence, September 1–November 9, 2012

Frank Martin returned to his position as manager and head of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland/Potsdam at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. The results of his research at CASVA will form part of his introductory essay in a forthcoming volume of the new collection catalogues of antique sculpture in the Skulpturensammlung of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden: Katalog der antiken Bildwerke, vol. 3, Die Porträts, edited by Kordelia Knoll, Christiane Vorster, and Moritz Woelk (Munich, 2013).



#### CATHERINE MAUMI

### VICTOR GRUEN: A NEW ARCHITECTURE FOR OUR URBAN ENVIRONMENT

In a lecture titled "Cityscape and Landscape," given in Aspen, Colorado, in June 1955, Victor Gruen (1903–1980) explained that "architecture's most urgent mission today is to convert chaos into order, change mechanization from a tyrant to a slave and thus make place for beauty where there is vulgarity and ugliness." According to Gruen, architecture was not solely the design of buildings ("there is little value in the building of buildings alone," he asserted); rather, it encompassed "all man-made elements which form our environment," a definition of architecture not very different from that of Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472). However, it seems that his main reference was not Alberti but Leonardo da Vinci and his drawings representing types of traffic separated on different levels, the streets being dedicated to the noble activities of the city and its inhabitants. Can we find, in those drawings, the foundations of the concept Gruen later characterized as three-dimensional planning? "One of the serious problems we encounter in the planning of our environment is that hundreds of specialists seem to approach it from varying points of departure over divergent avenues of procedure. The men of the Renaissance did not have this problem," he asserted in his book The Heart of Our Cities: The Urban Crisis, Diagnosis and Cure (1964).

Gruen is now well documented as a pioneer in the design of shopping malls, that achievement having constituted the center of interest of most publications on him until recently. During my residence at CASVA I chose instead to investigate Gruen's architectural thought in relation to the

Schematic Section through Transportation Center, from "Revitalization Plan for the City Core of Cincinnati," 1962, 17. Victor Gruen Papers, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division evolution of the American city and to relate it to contemporary debates. The visiting fellowship constituted an essential step in my research, most importantly by providing the opportunity for me to consult the Victor Gruen papers in the Library of Congress.

Many times during his career Gruen exhorted planning authorities to "give the city back to the people." In that interest he designed prototypes for the inhabitants of a better city to come. All of these projects questioned the radical changes experienced in the United States during the postwar period and attempted solutions at all architectural scales. New typologies and urban forms had to be invented to answer the new needs of a population using all the latest technologies, and the architect had a fundamental role: to reaffirm the mission of architecture, and of the architect, as opposed to the imperatives of omnipotent engineers. Consequently, what is often considered a paradox of Gruen's career—that he worked simultaneously on the design of regional shopping centers and on revitalization projects for downtowns—was not paradoxical at all. As he explained in the mid-1950s, many American cities had already begun a process of transformation into "doughnuts": depopulated cores ringed by suburbs. So the fight against chaotic suburban sprawl and the death of downtowns urgently called for comprehensive planning at the metropolitan scale as the only means of preventing simultaneous expansion of the "dough" and irremediable ruin of the "hole."

Gruen, who was born in Vienna, never forgot his European background and always kept in mind an idealized image of the European city. Sharing neither Frank Lloyd Wright's idea of Broadacre City, first proposed in the 1930s, nor the underlying concept of Jean Gottmann's *Megalopolis* (1961), he had more in common with Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, José Luis Sert, and Ernesto Nathan Rogers presenting the findings of the Eighth International Congress for Modern Architecture (CIAM) in *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanization of Urban Life* (1952), or with Jane Jacobs opposing Robert Moses and defending her ideas in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961).

Gruen liked presenting himself as an architect working with hard reality, as opposed to the dreamers of idealized cities. An opponent of the segregation imposed by urban planners, he believed in an approach that mixed uses and functions, that is, three-dimensional planning. Gruen defended his ideas in numerous lectures, articles, and books that had a

fundamental influence on contemporary debate well beyond the American coasts. During the 1960s and 1970s he found a favorable audience in most European countries, where his commissions included, besides projects for shopping centers, consulting for numerous master plans for new towns and for revitalization of old town centers. His papers at the Library of Congress testify to the important projects he undertook in Europe from the 1960s until his death. This European chapter of his career still has to be written, and I will dedicate a large part of my future research to it.

The last chapter of Gruen's life is also the one in which, disenchanted, he realized that he had probably been a dreamer himself. During the 1970s, working on a new autobiographical work, he admitted: "What I feel I am today: A person, who—because he has learned the hard way what the realities are—is believing more than ever in the importance of 'ideas,' a person who hopes that, as a 'dreaming realist' or a 'realistic dreamer,' he can make a modest contribution to the progress of humanity, towards becoming more human."

École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Grenoble Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, June 15 – August 15, 2012

Catherine Maumi returned to her position as professor of history and theory of architecture at the École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Grenoble.



### JENNIFER NELSON

### IMAGE BEYOND LIKENESS: THE CHIMERISM OF EARLY PROTESTANT VISUALITY

When I first saw the relief sculptures of Peter Dell the Elder (1490–1552), I was struck by their confidence. Conditioned by earlier published studies of Protestant art in Germany—studies focused on the late sixteenth century, on print media, and on the aftermath of 1520s iconoclasm—I expected objects less well made and more didactically overdetermined. Yet Dell's work demonstrates mastery of carving techniques inherited from his teachers, Tilman Riemenschneider (c. 1460–1531) and Hans Leinberger (c. 1475/1580–c. 1531); the reliefs' iconographical density proves flexible, supporting multiple interrelated narratives. Indeed, this last quality sets Dell's work apart from that of previous and later generations of German image makers.

Like much early Protestant elite art of the years from around 1525 to 1555 that I discuss in my dissertation, Dell's reliefs represent encounters among sacrohistorical entities. The reliefs function not by presenting an illusionistic whole, but by juxtaposing various motifs with divergent styles. Early Protestant images' internal diversity, which I call chimerism, affirms the special capability of visual art to represent sacred history as a container and crucible of all contingent histories, in all their radical difference.

Dell's *Resurrection* represents the realm of Albertine Saxony in 1529 alongside the antique realm of the Soldiers at the Tomb, the transfigured realm of the Resurrection proper, and the nether realm of the towers of Hell. All these parts of the relief look very different from one another;

Peter Dell the Elder, Resurrection, 1529. Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden. Photograph: Jürgen Karpinski even text motifs appear different from one instance to the next (tabula ansata, pier inscription, phylactery). The relatively round, squat soldiers in the foreground resemble neither the humans escaping hell nor the classically statuesque leftmost soldier guarding Christ's empty tomb.

These juxtapositions of visual idiom resonate allegorically with the circumstances of the relief's commission by Duke Heinrich of Saxony (1473–1541) or his wife, Katharina. In my dissertation, I explain how this relief represents a turning point in Heinrich's confessional allegiances, a point at which he distanced himself from his repressive Catholic elder brother and sided with his Lutheran wife. Heinrich, later known as Heinrich the Pious, and his heirs would come to be crucial supporters of the Reformation. Uncannily, as if predicting this then-uncertain future, the relief models the importance of Heinrich's faith to the salvation of future believers and underscores the powerful role of visual representation in this process.

The first half of the dissertation discusses Dell's Protestant oeuvre, then moves more broadly to characterize the importance of the diverse visual inflection of texts across a range of early Protestant media. The second half offers a new reading of *The Ambassadors* of Hans Holbein the Younger (c. 1497–1543) in the context of Protestant sponsorship of and theological support for technologies of measurement, as well as a close examination of three understudied projects by Lucas Cranach the Younger (1515–1586), who used chimeric techniques to emphasize the uneasy inclusion of sociocultural problems of his time—gynophobia, anti-Semitism, and rulers' perceived hypocrisy—within the rubric of sacred history. Overall, early Protestant art offers, through its chimerism, a pluralistic, self-limiting alternative to monological Neoplatonist melancholy. Like the assembled allegorical fragments of seventeenth-century tragedy that Walter Benjamin (1892–1940) describes in *The Origin of* German Tragic Drama, the works in my dissertation celebrate, in their very disjunction, a productive gap between meaning and appearance. However, because of the works' theologically grounded confidence in an image beyond likeness, they lack Benjamin's sense of a tragic fall from an ideal.

As I begin to reframe my dissertation and develop future projects during the remainder of my fellowship, I am exploring further implications of chimerism in art. In particular, I hope to draw out the distinction I

have made between chimerism as a collocation preserving different idioms alongside one another and what I call hybridism, a fusion of idioms into a new, unified style. How does the case of early Protestant elite art, with its theologically grounded preservation of difference under the aegis of notionally universal sacred history, compare with contemporary sixteenth-century encounters among differing visual traditions, say, in the Mediterranean or in New Spain? At this point in the development of national and ethnic identification in globalizing Europe, the attempt of early Protestant art to include and preserve divergent visual idioms seems exceptional. The visual history of early modern strife, conquest, and displacement largely reflects assimilation and accommodation in the hybridization of visual idioms. Nevertheless, comparing contemporaneous examples of chimerism and hybridism may yield insight into idiom as meaningful in and of itself.

[Yale University]
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 2012–2013

In the fall of 2013 Jennifer Nelson will join the Society of Fellows and the department of the history of art at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.



## LOCATING IDENTITY: MIXED INSCRIPTIONS AND MULTIPLE MEDIA IN GREEK ART, C. 675 – 336 BCE

My dissertation, "Locating Identity: Mixed Inscriptions and Multiple Media in Greek Art, c. 675 – 336 BCE," reconsiders the elusive notion of ethnicity in Archaic and Classical Greece through a systematic analysis of stylistic, iconographic, and epigraphical features of the material record. Ethnic identity has recently become a major focus of research in classical archaeology and art history. Despite broad consensus that ethnicity is a discursive phenomenon, many scholars continue to disregard the material networks—the visual and linguistic patterns—that signify ethnicity in the archaeological record. My research, by contrast, focuses on the media of ethnicity. It does so by examining inscriptions on Greek painted pottery and stone statue bases. My premise is that inscriptions are, among other things, visual forms that are inherent to an object's function and design. Combining art-historical methods with statistical analysis—close looking with attention to broad trends—my dissertation offers a more nuanced understanding of Archaic and Classical uses of style in the formation of social, political, and cultural communities.

The dissertation critically examines a basic premise of research in classical archaeology and art history: the existence of a direct correlation among dialect, alphabet, and ethnicity in inscriptions. Essentially four regional dialects and thirty-two distinctive alphabets were in use in Greece in the periods I am studying. Additionally, the Greek population was actually composed of various ethnic groups (Ionians, Dorians, Achaeans, and so forth). It is widely assumed that an ethnic Dorian would speak a

Attic red-figure cup from Cerveteri portraying a school scene, signed by Douris, c. 490–480 BCE. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung. © Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Doric dialect and employ the alphabet of a Doric city such as Corinth or Sparta. On this assumption, scholars use epigraphic evidence to make broad claims about Greek ethnicity, relationships between communities, artistic production, and mobility in the ancient world.

By contrast, my dissertation challenges the idea that dialect and alphabet alone are sufficient criteria for ethnicity. I argue that artisans used inscriptions to evoke a variety of identities and meanings based on patterns and contexts of use. To that end, I investigate an important but neglected corpus: so-called mixed inscriptions in pottery and stone, examples of which date from c. 675 to 336 BCE. A mixed inscription employs a dialect and/or alphabet that does not conform to the putative norm for a particular region of manufacture (for instance, an inscription in a non-Athenian dialect or alphabet on an Athenian clay pot). Mixed inscriptions remain an obscure topic confined mainly to epigraphical studies, yet, they exemplify the problem with assuming a direct correlation among dialect, script, and ethnicity and vividly illustrate the need to reconsider the role of inscriptions in Greek art.

Classical Athens offers a well-documented precedent for the use of a nonlocal script as evidence for a change in cultural practice. In chapter 2 of my dissertation, I explore the ways in which the Ionic alphabet was employed to represent Athenian identity in two very distinctive types of Athenian vase inscriptions dating from c. 460 to 336 BCE. I argue that what began as a script to mark difference (for instance, to set an individual apart from the collective) ended up integrating the Athenian empire and its allies into the very core of Athenian civic and religious life.

Chapter 3 investigates the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia. With a focus on stone statue bases, I examine the ways in which mixed inscriptions may signify an artisan's or patron's identity and how that same identity may be expressed in different ways depending on the sanctuary. I argue that the use of a certain script or dialect is a stylistic choice that has various cultural and political meanings depending on its context of use.

Chapter 4 explores the ways in which artisans used alphabet and/or dialect in mixed inscriptions on Greek pottery to allude to poetic genre or to visualize poetry. For instance, an Athenian red-figure cup by Douris (c. 490–480 BCE) portrays a book roll with a poetic inscription that invokes the muses in an Aeolic dialect. These inscriptions are not

meant to quote a source text but instead are used to allude to poetic genre—to make poetry apparent. The chapter focuses on the ways in which epigraphical features become visual attributes of poetry and signify in relation to pictorial narrative.

As the first study to examine mixed inscriptions in Greek pottery and stone systematically from an art-historical perspective, my project generates new knowledge about the function of inscriptions in Greek art with wide-ranging implications for our understanding of identity formation in early Greek society. More broadly, it rethinks the materiality of identity and the relation of artifacts to cultural phenomena.

[University of Chicago]
Twelve-Month Chester Dale Fellow, 2012–2013

During the 2013-2014 academic year, Ann E. Patnaude will complete her PhD in the department of art history at the University of Chicago.



#### MARK SALBER PHILLIPS

### DISTANCE AND HISTORY PAINTING

In his classic essay, Edgar Wind (1900–1971) argued that in *The Death* of General Wolfe Benjamin West (1738-1820) achieved the elevation necessary to history painting by substituting distance in space (North America) for distance in time (antiquity). Thus West's "revolution in history painting" endowed this prestigious genre with a new, more contemporary focus and moved it toward realism. Wind's recognition that distance was essential to neoclassical history painting provides an important point of departure. With respect to distance, however, I would argue that Wind's focus on contemporaneity obscures a more profound redistancing and that deeper issues lie in the changing meanings of "history/ istoria." The crucial shift that began in the second half of the eighteenth century was a slow abandonment of history painting's commitment to idealization and allegory in favor of an outlook that was more secular and national. The result was not a shift from ancient to contemporary; artists continued to depict both eras. Rather, the new style of history painting increasingly engaged with secular histories—and this at a time when David Hume and other historical thinkers were undertaking a parallel movement toward social and quotidian themes.

What, then, becomes of Wind's famous thesis? Wind's focus on distance is valuable, but both empirical observation and theoretical reflection suggest the need for a more comprehensive analysis. Even a cursory description of *The Death of General Wolfe* reveals a wide range of devices that contribute to our sense of witnessing a moment

Joseph Mallord William Turner, Keelmen Heaving in Coals by Moonlight, 1835. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Widener Collection

of high importance—one worthy of memorialization with the dignity and elevated vocabulary traditional to history painting. Most obvious is the formal design, which depicts the dying general after the pattern of the dying Christ, including the pyramidal structure, the circle of griefstricken witnesses, the slumping body supported by a merciful hand (in this case not that of the Virgin but of a doctor stemming the flow of blood). Through all this we recognize the young general's death as following the pattern of Christian sacrifice. West's most striking invention, however, is the great figure of the Indian—a warrior who does not participate in the battle but who gives witness to the secular significance of Wolfe's death: the mix of human pathos and heroic sacrifice that brings the northern part of America under British rule. Like other eighteenthcentury painters, West was uncomfortable with the artificiality of allegory, earlier a common feature of history painting. Instead, he deployed the Indian as a natural symbol and added to the realistic effect by copying some items of costume that he had specially imported from America. The result is a powerful image that is at once historically precise and highly idealized. The same balance characterizes the picture as a whole, allowing West to win acceptance as an orthodox history painter while claiming that his work was faithful to a particular moment of history.

As I have argued elsewhere (On Historical Distance, 2013) these observations on the problem of distance can be given a form that is both more systematic and less prescriptive. Beyond temporality, we need to consider at least four basic dimensions of representation as they relate to the problem of mediating distance: the work's formal structures of representation, its emotional claims, its implications for action, and its modes of understanding. These overlapping but distinctive distances—formal, affective, summoning, and conceptual—provide an analytic framework for examining changing practices of historical representation.

After its examination of West and of John Singleton Copley (1738–1815), Wind's essay abandons questions of distance, focusing instead on growing "realism." By contrast, a nonprescriptive idea of distance might look beyond neoclassicism to embrace other types of distance as well as other degrees of engagement. The result is a more nuanced understanding that allows us to examine the hybridities of David Wilkie (1785–1841) or J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851) as they seek ways to modify and renew the history painting tradition. Wilkie's *Gazette of Waterloo* 

(1822) does not turn away from history; it only brings it closer by placing it in a more familiar and democratized setting. So too Turner's *Venice: The Dogana and San Giorgio Maggiore* (1834) and its pendant, *Keelmen Heaving in Coals by Moonlight* (1835), dramatize the rise and fall of commercial empires not in remote Carthage, but in the familiar settings of the tourist's Venice and of Tyneside in the unlovely age of coal.

Carleton University
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, December 3, 2012–January 31, 2013

Mark Salber Phillips returned to his position in the Institute for Comparative Studies in Literature, Art, and Culture at Carleton University, Ottawa. In January 2014 he will take up a six-month fellowship at the Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachussets.



#### FREDO RIVERA

### REVOLUTIONIZING MODERNITIES: VISUALIZING UTOPIA IN 1960s HAVANA, CUBA

Che Guevara (1928–1967) closed the 1963 World Congress of Architecture in Havana, Cuba, with an impassioned speech, published the next year in the periodical Arquitectura Cuba, on the role of architecture in the postcolonial and socialist world. Guevara emphasized that Cuba was not following the model of other communist nations of that era and was open to an influx of ideas geared toward the arts and architecture. At the same time, he asserted that the architect "existed within society" and that architects cannot take an apolitical approach given that "man in modern society is by nature political." Organized under the aegis of the International Union of Architects (UIA), the triennial congress brought architects from around the world to discuss architecture in "underdeveloped" nations, with Havana fashioning itself as the ultimate prototype of the modern, postcolonial city. New approaches to architecture and urban planning across the island were here presented alongside a myriad of exhibitions and urban design initiatives, marking Cuba's unique contribution to the arts and architecture.

My dissertation principally concerns the ways in which Cuba's modern architectural past was put to a new purpose following the conclusion of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, as well as the ways in which Cuban modernity was reimagined in new architectural projects, in the governmentally supported visual arts, and in curatorial work that brought the fine and popular arts into Cuba's new and reinhabited spaces. Taking a thematic approach, I investigate a variety of case studies in order

Ricardo Porro, architect, School of Plastic Arts, The National Arts Schools, Cubanacán, Havana, Cuba, 1961– 1965. Author photograph, 2008 to provide a broad overview of the entire decade of the 1960s. Topics explored range from the legacy of the Cuban *vanguardia* (or avantgarde) from previous decades to new debates regarding the concepts of tricontinentalism and decolonization in the cultural congresses of the mid-to-late 1960s.

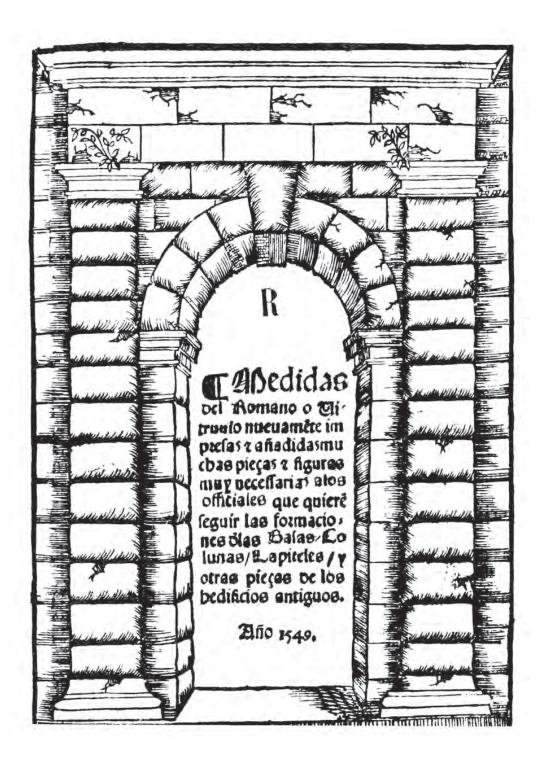
As the 1963 World Congress of Architecture reveals, new ideas regarding the "revolutionary" and that which constitutes the "vanguard" were implicated within new architectural projects as well as within institutional displays of art. The major exhibition of the congress, titled *Historia y Arquitectura en Cuba*, highlighted Cuba's contributions regarding innovative approaches to architecture and exhibition design. Housed in the gargantuan, portico-like Pabellón Cuba, a concrete prefabricated structure built in a mere seventy-two days, the exhibition utilized multimedia displays such as film, projected images, and geomorphic sculptures featuring photography and graphic arts as well as plans and images of new projects. The display attempted to express the promise of architectural innovation to an international and professional audience, providing a teleological narrative stemming from Cuba's pre-Columbian and colonial heritages.

The exhibition highlighted new architecture projects in Cuba, which themselves speak to debates regarding the role of visual arts and architecture during the first years of the Cuban Revolution. In my dissertation I focus on two significant ciudad universitaria (urban campus) projects in the suburbs of Havana: the Ciudad Universitaria José Antonio Echeverria (CUJAE), completed in 1964, and the National Arts Schools of 1961-1965. The latter, designed by a team of architects led by Ricardo Porro (b. 1925), was a campus of five sprawling schools that took over the city's most prestigious golf course. Referring to a myriad of influences ranging from the medieval city to Afro-Cuban religion and Taíno indigenous housing, the architects employed anthropomorphic and geometric forms in an attempt to express cubanidad (Cubanness) on an impressive scale. Later abandoned because of ideological and economic concerns, the building demonstrates both the utopian and political contours of architecture following the revolution. In both ciudad universitaria case studies the relationship of art to architecture is central to the architecture and urban design of the campus.

My dissertation spans a decade, exploring the complicated relationship of political ideology to art and architecture at a key moment in Cuba's history. Working at CASVA has allowed me to think critically about the relationship among architecture, urban design, exhibition, and works of art, particularly as they function within a nationalist context. My colleagues have been especially helpful in clarifying key concepts across various media, especially with regard to my discussion of space as it relates to the plastic arts, museology, and architecture. My dissertation closes with an exploration of major events, congresses, and exhibitions taking place in Havana during the late 1960s, such as the Salon de Mayo (1967) and *El Tercer Mundo* (1968). Like new architectures and the plastic arts, these exhibitions speak to developing intellectual trends on the island as well as Cuba's significant role within an international setting at the height of the Cold War.

[Duke University] Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 2011–2013

During the 2013–2014 academic year Fredo Rivera will continue as a PhD candidate in the department of art, art history, and visual studies at Duke University.



### CARLOS SAMBRICIO

### A HISTORY OF THE HISTORY OF SPANISH ARCHITECTURE

During my four months at CASVA I finished the first two chapters of my book "A History of the History of Spanish Architecture." In the first chapter I take as a point of departure the history of Spanish architecture in the fifteenth century, when, following the return of the papacy to Rome after the schism, the crowns of Castile and Aragon sent ambassadors to that city. There they were exposed not only to Petrarch's ideas concerning the value and glories of Roman antiquity but also to humanists' understanding of imperial Rome as a site rich in architectural examples rather than as a city that had previously been understood (by those who came to know it on their way to Jerusalem) as merely a place to venerate relics and the remains of earlier periods of Christianity.

The re-evaluation of Roman antiquity also coincided with a debate that arose in Italy in the writings of Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), in France (Guillaume Budé [1467–1540]), and in Spain (Antonio de Nebrija [1441–1522]) over the benefit of using Latin as a national language. Nebrija developed his first Castilian grammar precisely when the discovery of a new continent prompted the appropriation of Virgil's *Aeneid* in retellings by Spanish humanists who sought to supplant Rome as a cultural referent, proposing Spain's architectural past as a point of origin. Spanish literati identified in classical texts the names and locations of Roman settlements and described their remains, trying to demonstrate that Spain was as rich and unique as imperial Rome. In identifying the vestiges of Roman antiquity in Spain, these authors proposed them as

Diego de Sagredo, Medidas del Romano (Toledo, 1549), frontispiece paradigms, and they were used, for example, in the ephemeral architecture that Ferdinand of Aragon had constructed for his entry into Valencia upon his return from Naples in 1503, when he decided to adopt these new classical references. And in this same context, Diego de Sagredo's *Medidas del Romano*, published in 1526 and in subsequent editions and translations, was intended as a text for Spanish humanists that explained not only the syntactic elements of classical architectural language but also how to construct and compose them.

It is important to clarify that one way of valuing architecture did not immediately replace another; rather, it was a centuries-long process. Charles I of Spain (later Holy Roman Emperor Charles V) thought of Roman architecture as the model for the court, while the Catholic church, looking to conventional modes of designing buildings, maintained the tradition of Gothic architecture until the middle of the sixteenth century (for example, in the cathedral of Segovia).

In the second chapter, I detail the complex developments of the second half of the sixteenth century, when three lines intersected. In the first place, the rejection of paganizing architecture by the Council of Trent forced the decision of Philip II to adopt the architecture that, according to the Bible, God gave to man, understood in the mid-sixteenth century to be Solomon's Temple, the form of which was a subject of debate. If Solomon achieved religious peace between the Judah and the northern Israelite tribes, Philip II's mission should be to achieve peace between the reformist Protestants and the Catholic church. As early as 1549, when, by order of Holy Roman Emperor Charles v, his son Prince Philip visited Brussels and later Ghent and other cities in the Low Countries, the ephemeral architecture that adorned the entrances repeatedly glorified a prince who wanted to be known as wise and prudent, following the example of King Solomon. For almost fifty years there was a debate about whether the architect Juan Bautista Villalpando's understanding of the description of Solomon's temple in the book of Ezekiel was accurate, and, as a consequence, whether the unornamented architecture he proposed for the Escorial was the correct interpretation sought by the monarch.

Parallel to this, in a Spain where Italophobia existed side by side with Italophilia, Philip, in his attempt to appear not as continuing in the line of the imperial Caesars but rather as the legitimate successor of the Visigoth

monarchy, asked his chroniclers to locate in the north of Spain—where the Muslims had not penetrated—the remains of the earliest medieval architecture, in other words, a national architecture. The valorizing of the local soon gave way not just to the study of "Gothic" remains but also to exceptional works of Muslim antiquity, and to the publication of texts that praised the Alhambra of Granada and the Córdoba mosque.

In the face of these options, classicism, reclaimed for a time as a court style, gained new meaning after the publication in 1552 of Francisco Villalpando's translation of books 3 and 4 of Sebastiano Serlio's work on architecture, which detailed not an architectural grammar such as Sagredo's but the forms of the architectural orders (as they were termed and described in book 4) based on ancient buildings (the subject of book 3). The publication of these two books provided a standard for those who wished to adhere to the principles of classical architecture.

Universidad Politécnica de Madrid Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 2013

Carlos Sambricio returned to his position as professor at the Universidad Politécnica de Madrid.



#### MONIKA SCHMITTER

# PORTRAIT OF A COLLECTOR: ANDREA ODONI AND HIS SIXTEENTH-CENTURY VENETIAN PALACE

In a letter to the nonnoble Venetian citizen (*cittadino*) and art collector Andrea Odoni (1488–1545), Pietro Aretino (1492–1556) intimated that Odoni's house and its contents could be construed as a portrait of the man: "Whoever wishes to see how clean and candid his spirit is should look first at his face and his house; look at them, I say, and you will see as much serenity and beauty as one can desire in a house and in a face." The letter goes on to describe the ornaments and works of art in Odoni's house in effusive and florid language, which is nonetheless laced with a subtle current of irony. The combination of Aretino's evocative and complex missive and the fact that Odoni is the subject of one of the most remarkable and innovative portraits in Renaissance art, now in the collection of Queen Elizabeth II, sets the stage for my book.

The body of my study takes Aretino up on his implication that Odoni's house could be read as a kind of portrait of the man, akin to the actual portrait by Lorenzo Lotto (c. 1480–1556). In a series of chapters on the different parts of the house—the mythological fresco on the facade, the "antiquarium" in the courtyard and garden, the works of art and other furnishings on display in the main salon, and the two principal bedchambers on the piano nobile—I demonstrate how each space projected a different facet of Odoni's complex subjectivity. In the final chapter, this "portrait by property" informs my reading of Lotto's famous likeness, which then hung in one of the bedrooms. Lotto's image is itself a meditation on the practice of collecting, centered on the

Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait* of Andrea Odoni, 1527. Royal Collection Trust/ © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2012 spiritual relationship between Christian faith and the ancient pagan past.

My research demonstrates that Odoni was both an insider and an outsider in Venetian society. As a well-to-do *cittadino* and civil servant, he was accorded a certain social stature and economic privilege, but as a nonnoble and the son of a wealthy Milanese immigrant, he was politically disenfranchised and excluded from the highest elite. Odoni nonetheless rose to the top of the office that collected the wine tax, which grew in the sixteenth century to be the single greatest source of revenue for the Venetian state. While this position gave him wealth, prominence, and power, it also made him susceptible to suspicions of corruption and graft. Perhaps in compensation, Odoni used his house and art collection to promote respectability for himself and his family in their newly adopted homeland.

The chief challenge I have faced in my study is finding a balance between the demands of constructing a "portrait" of Odoni as a collector and demonstrating the significance of this case study for our understanding of Venetian art and society. One key question has been to determine how typical or atypical Odoni was as a collector and patron for his time and his class. The further I delve, the more convinced I am that he was an exceptional individual, as Lotto's highly original portrait would suggest. At the same time, I think that the role and importance of *cittadini* in Venetian society and art as a whole has not been fully recognized, in part because of the common assumption that patricians were the only tastemakers and in part because of the lack of primary sources for the lives and collections of nonnobles. Among other things, my study of Odoni will provide a solid cornerstone for future research on *cittadini* and their engagement with the arts.

During my two months at CASVA, I completed the chapter devoted to the main salon (called the *portego* in Venetian architecture) of Odoni's home. In this most public and representational space of the house, Odoni displayed arms and armor in a manner usually thought to be the preserve of patricians. He also exhibited narrative paintings featuring exemplary male role models, including *The Clemency of Scipio*, by Giovanni Gerolamo Savoldo; *The Justice of Trajan*, by Giovanni Cariani; *The Conversion of Saint Paul*, by Bonifacio de' Pitati; and *The Penitence of Saint Jerome*, by an unknown artist. In this way, he proclaimed his moral rectitude as well as his engagement in civic affairs. But Odoni's

portego was also full of sculpture that was displayed in a way that did not follow conventions established by patrician Venetian families. He transformed what was normally a rather sparsely furnished and ornamented room into a showcase for his collection of ancient and modern statues. For his daring emphasis on art as a sign of a man's worth, he could be both admired and criticized by his contemporaries.

University of Massachusetts Amherst Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, June 18—August 15, 2012

Monika Schmitter returned to her position as associate professor of art history at the University of Massachusetts Amherst in the spring semester 2013.



#### ŁUKASZ STANEK

# HENRI LEFEBVRE'S "VERS UNE ARCHITECTURE DE LA JOUISSANCE" (1973): TOWARD AN ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH

"Vers une architecture de la jouissance" is an unpublished book manuscript by the French Marxist philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991). The book was written in 1973 as a report within the framework of a commissioned research study focused on issues of urbanism emergent in new tourist towns in the latter years of Franco's Spain, but it was never published because the commissioner considered it too far from the topic it was intended to address. The manuscript was nonetheless an important step within Lefebvre's theorizing of space as socially produced and productive, which was formulated in six books, published from 1968 (Le Droit à la ville) to 1974 (La Production de l'espace; in English, The Production of Space, 1991), and developed further in De l'État (1976–1978). At the same time, "Vers une architecture de la jouissance" was inscribed into Lefebvre's effort to challenge functionalist urbanism and to test various paths within, beyond, and against the legacy of the architectural avant-gardes of the 1920s and 1930s. The book continues his attempt to theorize the production of space from within specific empirical research projects in rural and urban sociology that he carried out and supervised in a range of French research institutions and universities beginning in the 1940s.

The impact of these engagements on "Vers une architecture de la jouissance" comes to the fore in Lefebvre's argument that "architecture today implies social practice in a double way": on the one hand, the professional practice of architects, defined by their position in the divi-

Grapus, poster for the colloquium "Pour un urbanisme...,"
Grenoble, April 6-7,
1974. Courtesy of the Archives municipales
d'Aubervilliers

sion of labor, and, on the other, the practice of inhabitants. The former reflects Lefebvre's interventions into architectural culture in the 1960s and 1970s as a critic, educator, editor, advisor, and member of juries in architectural competitions. The latter relates to the studies of the Institut de sociologie urbaine, founded by Lefebvre in 1962, which focused on the practices of habitation in collective housing estates (*grands ensembles*) and individual houses (*pavillons*). In these studies, the practice of habitation was theorized as the production of space: a half-real, half-imaginary distribution of times and places of everyday life. This understanding of habitation provided a platform for Lefebvre to rethink the possibilities of architecture and to reimagine its sites, operations, and stakes.

In my research I argue that "Vers une architecture de la jouissance" explores architectural imagination as negative, political, and materialist. First, architectural imagination is negative in the sense of contradicting fundamental premises of postwar everyday life, in particular the division between work and "nonwork." For Lefebvre, spaces of leisure were privileged case studies, seen both as sites of reproduction of postwar capitalism and as its "other." Defined by "nonwork" rather than production, excess rather than accumulation, gift rather than exchange, spaces of leisure allow reconsideration of the fundamental divisions that structure times and places of everyday life.

Second, architectural imagination is political because for Lefebvre the stake of every political project is an alternative everyday. At the same time, "Vers une architecture de la jouissance" can be read as responding to the Common Program of the Union de la gauche, an agreement signed in 1972 between the French communist party and socialist party. Discussed in several colloquia, in particular "Pour un urbanisme..." (Grenoble, 1974), the Common Program postulated a new type of urbanism around the themes of the right to the city and solidarity between social groups.

Finally, architectural imagination is materialist; that is, it starts with the materiality of the body and its rhythms. This idea leads Lefebvre to revisit precedents of architecture understood as an assemblage of senses, forms, discourses, bodies, and ideas: the abbey of Thélème, described by François Rabelais (1494–1553) as a community of people educated in the "gay knowledge" of pleasure; or the phalanstery, a utopian community described in the writings of Charles Fourier (1772–1837) as based

on a combination of diverse people and their passions, producing new relationships of love and labor.

If Lefebvre's concept of the production of space as a heterogeneous and political process has become an essential reference for rethinking architectural history, theory, criticism, and practice in the last two decades, "Vers une architecture de la jouissance" contributes to its adoption by embracing architectural imagination. The exercise of this imagination is often the unsolicited part of an architectural project; in Lefebvre's words, an "implicit" commission, delivered regardless of what was expected and sometimes in spite of it, much like "Vers une architecture de la jouissance" itself.

#### A. W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, 2011-2013

Eukasz Stanek has taken up a position as lecturer at the Manchester Architecture Research Centre, University of Manchester (UK). He will continue working on Lefebvre's theory of production of space and on an English translation of "Vers une architecture de la jouissance," scheduled for publication in spring 2014 (University of Minnesota Press). He will also pursue his second line of research, focused on transfer of architecture and planning from socialist countries in Europe to countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East during the Cold War.



#### TRAN KY PHUONG

# ICONOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE MY SON SANCTUARY: THE CHAM ART OF VIETNAM AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH JAVANESE AND CAMBODIAN ART

The significant features of Cham art, one of the earliest Hinduized arts in Southeast Asia, were well represented in the Cham royal sanctuary, known today as My Son. Located in My Son village in Quang Nam province, approximately forty-three miles southwest of Danang, Vietnam, this religious architectural site was rediscovered during the French colonial period, in 1885. Because of My Son's unique historical and architectural value, it was listed as a World Cultural Heritage site by UNESCO in December 1999.

My Son is in a narrow, isolated valley about one and one-quarter miles in diameter, surrounded by a range of high mountains. The sanctuary is located under the foot of the holy mountain of Mahaparvata (Great God of the Mountain, or the god Shiva). A stream originating there flows north through the site to join the Thu Bon river, the holy river of Mahanadi (the goddess Ganga, a consort of Shiva).

The first wooden temple to Shiva was built at My Son at the end of the fourth century by King Bhadravarman (c. 384–413), named in an inscription found at the site. My Son includes sixty-eight temple towers of brick and sandstone, built in succession from the end of the seventh to the end of the thirteenth century. The principal Cham royal sanctuary dedicated to the god Shiva, the tutelary of the kingdom, the site was called Srisana-Bhadresvara throughout its history.

Iconographically, the Hindu temples at My Son demonstrate the unique cult and cosmological concept of Cham royalty, in which the

Brick temples with the holy mountain Mahaparvata in the background, My Son Sanctuary, seventh to thirteenth century, Quang Nam province, Vietnam. Author photograph Shivaite cult is represented in the worship of the phallic linga and a statue of Shiva in human form side by side. The worship of Shiva at My Son, together with the worship of the goddess Bhagavati, a consort of Shiva, at Po Nagar Nha Trang (another royal sanctuary of the southern state of the kingdom approximately 310 miles from My Son), reflects the dual cosmology — male-female/father-mother/mountain-sea/areca clan-coconut clan, and so on—of the cult practiced at the two royal sanctuaries throughout the Cham dynasties from the eighth to the thirteenth century. This cosmological dualism, which was rooted in the natural beliefs of the prehistoric Austronesian world, survives to this day in the Cham ethnic community.

According to Chinese historical records, the Champa kingdom was established at the end of the second century CE (c. 192). Because of their strategic location along the coast of what is now central Vietnam, the Champa became middlemen in both overland and sea trade between East and South Asia as well as the Hinduized states of Southeast Asia. The Cham occupied estuaries to build well-located ports that were active in the South China Sea trade route. The rich forest resources of this land also made Champa prosperous; for centuries the Cham exported luxury products such as eaglewood, cinnamon, rhinoceros horn, ivory, rare animals, and spices to Arabian and Chinese merchants.

As a result of trade interaction with the Javanese and Khmer from the tenth century onward, the Cham adapted the cults of *dikpalakas* (gods of directions) from Javanese art (Indonesia) and those of *navagrahas* (gods of seven or nine planets) from Khmer art (Cambodia). These are represented in the temple-tower groups of complexes of My Son A and B; these gods were worshiped in the small temples erected around the main ones (*kalan* in the Cham language), which made My Son a unique Hindu sanctuary in a region teeming with Sivaite iconographies.

From the point of view of art history, each work of Hindu art in Southeast Asia formed its own characteristics from the typical artistic vocabularies of localized Hindu traditional art of the Indian subcontinent. Significantly, from the eighth century onward, when the economics of the region fully developed through engagement in maritime trade, these ancient states lost their direct connections with those artistic traditions. Southeast Asian arts then had to rely on regional exchange of Hindu temple structural techniques and iconographical features to create their

own visual languages distinct from those of Indian art. The compelling results of these exchanges can be found in My Son sanctuary.

Vietnam Association of Ethnic Minorities' Culture and Arts Alisa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, June 21 – August 22

Tran Ky Phuong returned to his position as a consultant for the UNESCO World Heritage Museums Project and to his own project, "Crossing Boundaries: Learning from the Past to Build the Future; Ethno-Archaeological Collaborative Research in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam."



#### JAMES GRANTHAM TURNER

# EROS VISIBLE: SEXUALITY, ART, AND ANTIQUITY IN ITALY, 1499-1540

My book explores the relationship between art and love in Renaissance Italy, particularly the sensuous and physical rather than the chaste, "Platonic" form of Eros. Influenced by classical myths about Venus/Aphrodite and her worshipers, writers and artists in the circle of Pietro Aretino (1492–1556) interpreted arousal as an experience that yielded new ways of seeing and producing art of the highest quality. In their works, the most intimate details of artistic practice—the brush, the pen, the pose, the model, the stroke, the stain—took on an erotic meaning. Within this context, I ask: What properties of Eros prompted visual expression, and conversely, what properties of art prompted erotic responses and associations? What linked the new interest in sexuality (vividly expressed in Aretino's writings about art and life) with the rediscovery of antique expressive forms? What viewing strategies does the erotic work of art imply, what audiences, spaces, kinds of scrutiny, movements, and feelings? What motivates each line or stroke?

My task for my short-term visit at CASVA was twofold: to organize my notes and drafts into a stricter chapter sequence and to complete the last stretch of new writing, a study of one important myth: the adultery of Venus with Mars and its exposure by her husband Vulcan. This work was both delayed and enriched by the seductions of CASVA and the National Gallery of Art. Curators and other fellows gave me valuable insights, and sections in progress became more complicated. For example, I had planned to comment briefly on *Mars and Venus*, en-

Titian, Venus with a Mirror, c. 1550. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Andrew W. Mellon Collection



Titian, Venus with a Mirror, c. 1550, detail. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Andrew W. Mellon Collection

graved by Gian Giacopo Caraglio (c. 1500–1565), in which the goddess' face mysteriously remains in the mirror after she turns away to embrace her lover. But I found myself also exploring one of the Gallery's most compelling paintings, *Venus with a Mirror* by Titian (c. 1488–1576).

Caraglio's conceit of the autonomous image suspended in the mirror, exempt from the rules of optics, here expands into a full-blown metapainting. Titian's conspicuous virtuoso handling of paint draws attention to its material presence, to what in fact makes it unlike a mirror image. Including the reflection allows Titian to perform the standard *paragone* demonstration — we see the earring on the far side and so complete the image of Venus' face in the round — and to prac-

tice an almost impressionist looseness of brushwork to convey the slight distortion of the image in the handblown silvered glass. Scholars have commented astutely on this reflection, on how it forms a seductive *ritratto di spalla*, or over-the-shoulder portrait, how it anticipates the "stains" or "splotches" of Titian's late style, his *pittura di macchia*. In this sense, Venus looks straight into the future of painting.

Most strikingly, the mirror establishes eye contact with *us*. The left eye, partly hidden in the near-profile view of Venus' head, looks directly at the viewer, which means of course that she can see the viewer looking directly at her—perhaps Mars approaching for the encounter for which she has adorned herself. A comma of brilliant white paint, distinctly sharper than the liquid strokes around it and further accentuated by a smaller bead of vermilion, compels "our" eye to fix upon "hers." Reconstructing the

studio situation in three dimensions with an actual mirror confirms that the effect was carefully observed and that to achieve this reflection the model needed to fix her gaze precisely, neither on the painter-viewer nor on her own reflected image, but on the place where the observer-artist appears in the mirror. She *could not see herself*. Any implications of self-adoration, or a toilette scene, or complicity in her own objectification, have thus been broken off.

Many observers notice that the face in the mirror looks different from the one we contemplate in serene profile: for some she is older, for others more tense and agitated. The flesh is looser, the brow more arched, and the eye open wider (even allowing for some losses and inpainting along the left rim of the lower eyelid). A dark shadow running up from the left corner imparts a strain to the eye socket. The whole tonality is more hectic—the opposite of what we would expect, as the mercury coating would have chilled the colors. It is as if Venus has prepared her perfect face and body for presentation to her anticipated lover, Mars, but her reflected self starts in guilty surprise to see Vulcan.

University of California, Berkeley Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, January 1—February 28, 2013

James Grantham Turner will continue his research in Chicago, London, and Madrid, then returns to the University of California, Berkeley, where he holds the James D. Hart Chair.



# VOCABULARIES OF CULTURE: THE LANDSCAPE OF MULTIETHNIC EMPERORSHIP IN THE EARLY QING DYNASTY (1661 – 1722)

In 1702 the Kangxi emperor (r. 1661–1722), second ruler of the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1911), ordered the construction of a palatial summer retreat north of the Great Wall, in a region known as Rehe. Over the course of the subsequent decade, engineers, carpenters, artisans, sculptors, and painters created an unprecedented imperial landscape known as Bishu shanzhuang, or the Mountain Estate to Escape the Summer Heat. Realized both in the physical landscape and in paintings, prints, and texts, Bishu shanzhuang, and landscape more broadly, offered the Kangxi emperor powerful media for communicating imperial ideology to a multiethnic and multilingual empire.

Relatively little now remains attesting to the Kangxi emperor's conception for Bishu shanzhuang or his realization of it. Among the few surviving testaments to the site's earliest years is a two-volume work produced by the court, *Thirty-Six Imperial Poems on Bishu shanzhuang* (*Yuzhi Bishu shanzhuang shi*). Published in parallel Chinese- and Manchu-language editions in 1714, *Thirty-Six Imperial Poems* paired images of the Mountain Estate's most scenic sites with imperial poems describing the emperor's life within its walls. Part autobiography, part political manifesto, part lyric account of a personal landscape, *Thirty-Six Imperial Poems* offered its privileged recipients virtual access to the emperor's private estate and to the emperor himself.

As this year draws to a close, I am completing work on a coauthored translation and study of *Thirty-Six Imperial Poems*, to be published by

Jinshan Island, Bishu shanzhuang, Chengde, Hebei province. Author photograph Dumbarton Oaks in 2014. The volume will present translations of both the Chinese and the Manchu texts—the largest trilingual publication of its kind ever undertaken and a critical contribution to scholarship on the multilingual Qing empire—together with several other early accounts of the Mountain Estate. Alongside these will be reproductions of both the original woodcut views and those of a subsequent copperplate edition produced for the court under the direction of the Italian missionary Matteo Ripa (1682–1746). Ripa's copperplates are the earliest known use of European printing technology in China, as well as the first images of Chinese gardens to reach Europe. As such, they represent important monuments in the intellectual, cultural, and technological exchanges of the eighteenth century on opposite ends of the Eurasian continent.

Previous scholarship concerning Bishu shanzhuang has focused largely on its later states of development, attained under Kangxi's grandson, the Qianlong emperor (r. 1735–1795). An underlying goal of my research has to been to recover its earliest history through an emphasis on Kangxi sources, reconstructive mapping, and other intentional methodologies. Through these approaches, I aim not only to uncover how the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors differed as garden builders, but, as a more important goal, to create a diachronic history of Bishu shanzhuang that may be effectively engaged as a source in understanding differences between the emperors and the periods of their respective reigns. Articulating these concerns and methods is the focus of my second major project for the year, "From Upper Camp to Mountain Estate: Recovering Historical Narratives in Qing Imperial Landscapes," an essay to be published in *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* in early 2014.

The shadow cast over Qing imperial history by the Qianlong emperor extends beyond Bishu shanzhuang, however, and a concern with recovering distinctive aspects of Kangxi court art is also at the center of my third major project for the year, an essay entitled "Towards a Qing Synthesis: Wang Yuanqi (1642–1715) and Early Qing Court Painting." Through careful visual analysis of several monumental landscape paintings from the last fifteen years of Wang Yuanqi's life, during which time he was the most important painter and art theorist in the Qing court, I seek to clarify the stylistic origins and early development of the distinctive Qing court painting style, thereby advancing our understanding of the

Manchu court's engagement with Chinese and European pictorial traditions circulating at that time. The essay is part of a group focusing on Qing visuality entitled "Images and Imaginaries: A Connective History of Qing Visual Art," of which I am coeditor; they are expected to form a thematic issue of *Archives of Asian Art* in spring 2014.

Having spent much of this year writing about representations of the Mountain Estate, during the second year of my fellowship I will turn to the physical landscape itself. With support from CASVA, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the Society of Architectural Historians, I will spend the summer geotagging and photographing Bishu shanzhuang, creating a dataset that will permit mapping and geospatial analysis of the site, important next steps in my efforts to uncover its earlier histories.

A. W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, 2012-2014

During the second year of his fellowship, Stephen Hart Whiteman will continue his research on landscapes of the Kangxi period and will teach a graduate seminar on the history of Chinese gardens at the University of Pennsylvania.



#### YANFEI ZHU

# TRANSTEMPORAL AND CROSS-BORDER ALIGNMENT: THE REDISCOVERY OF *YIMIN* INK PAINTING IN MODERN CHINA, 1900–1949

Modern Chinese ink painting is an amalgam of traditional and modern values. Its hybridity was especially heightened in the early twentieth century, when theorists and practitioners struggled to reconcile contemporaneous Western models and movements, seen as modern, with their own distinctive visual traditions, notably in ink painting. Often misconstrued as conservative, ink painters of this era pursued innovations based on their particular understandings of the Chinese tradition. To them, the legacy of China's past was both comparable and precursory to modernist tendencies in the West. Revealing the fundamental ways in which Chinese ink painting was modernized, my project traces how Chinese artists in the first half of the twentieth century popularized, commodified, and philosophically and formalistically appropriated the work of seventeenth-century individualist *yimin* masters—painting seen as idiosyncratic and experimental—to create modern ink painting.

In this context, the term "yimin art" (in which yimin refers to remnant subjects, or those loyal to a previous dynasty) designates ink paintings by a group of late Ming and early Qing individualist masters, whose styles often appear expressive or abstract to the modern viewer. The most famous yimin individualists include Shitao (1642–1707), Bada Shanren (1625–1705), and Gong Xian (1618–1689). The eccentricity of their personalities and art served as a vessel for all sorts of later readings and interpretations. In the Republic of China (1912–1945), they represented nonconformism, in contrast to the orthodox "Four Wang"

Shitao, Riverbank of Peach Blossoms, leaf from the album Wilderness Colors, c. 1700. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/ Art Resource, NY school of the early Qing. Their loyalist status further echoed the plight of Chinese painters in the early twentieth century, who could be considered the residual literati guarding the country's rich and ponderous cultural tradition and fearing its annihilation by aggressive Westernization. Their individualism, in both artistic and theoretical accomplishments, buttressed modern painters' belief in the vigor and potential of Chinese ink painting.

Two chapters of my dissertation examine, from philosophical and formalistic angles respectively, Republican Chinese artists' approaches to studying Shitao, the most sought-after yimin artistic model. Specifically, I investigate the modern implications of Shitao's art and theory through the visions of five painters: He Tianjian (1890–1977), Liu Haisu (1896–1994), Pan Tianshou (1897–1971), Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), and Fu Baoshi (1904–1965). Shitao's artistic creativity and autonomy were a source of inspiration and confidence for early twentieth-century Chinese artists who were anxious to establish the modernity of Chinese ink painting. He Tianjian's hermeneutic reading of Shitao's Huayulu (Treatise on Painting) imbued the individualist's abstruse writing with modern vernacular legibility. Fu Baoshi promoted the nationalistic interpretation of Shitao and other loyalist painters, although ironically his research on Shitao's biography was driven by the desire to compete with Japanese scholarship on the same subject. To Liu Haisu and his peers, who practiced with both ink and oil media, Shitao was a bridge that connected the incompatible artistic values of China and the West, allowing artists to mix or not to mix the two systems in order to create the best of modern painting. To Zhang Dagian, Pan Tianshou, and their contemporaries, whose work is considered to represent innovation within tradition, Shitao represented a power in Chinese tradition that was renewable and, in modern parlance, progressive.

This is not to say that the ink painters' appreciation and appropriation of Shitao was unrelated to their awareness of Western modernism, whether they acknowledged it or not. Zhang Daqian's exposure to abstract expressionism as well as the professional necessity of appealing to Western buyers contributed to his beautiful splashed-ink and color painting. Moreover, his forgeries of Shitao's paintings resulted from and contributed to the popularization of the individualist master in the twentieth century. Consciously separating Chinese from Western painting,

Pan Tianshou employed Shitao's art and theory to resolve the modern concerns of ink painting. The rediscovery of Shitao therefore allowed Chinese ink painters to internalize or localize the issues of modernizing traditional art while competing with their Western counterparts.

In addition to the chapters that I wrote in residence at CASVA this year, I reworked three previously finished chapters to shape my dissertation into a book manuscript. The revised chapters address the modern rediscovery of *yimin* painting from the perspectives of print culture and of Chinese and Japanese historiography. I am deeply grateful for my CASVA colleagues' constructive criticism of my work and the convenience of accessing materials in the collections and library of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery.

[The Ohio State University] Ittleson Fellow, 2011–2013

Yanfei Zhu will be a postdoctoral teaching fellow in the department of art history and archaeology at Washington University in St. Louis for academic year 2013–2014.

Following page:
Kathryn Barush,
Marius Bratsberg
Hauknes, and Meredith
Gamer with senior conservator Judy Ozone



# **ABOUT THE CENTER**



### FIELDS OF INQUIRY

The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts fosters study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art, artifacts, architecture, urbanism, photography, and film, from prehistoric times to the present. The Center supports research in the visual arts from a variety of approaches by historians, critics, and theorists of art, as well as by scholars in related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences. It is also committed to the exploration of new media and computing technologies that promote advanced research and scholarship in the visual arts.

# BOARD OF ADVISORS AND SPECIAL SELECTION COMMITTEES

The Center's Board of Advisors, comprising seven or eight historians of art or related disciplines appointed to rotating terms, meets annually to consider policies and programs. Advisors also make up selection committees that review applications for fellowships at the Center. In addition, an ad hoc selection committee is appointed for each special-initiative fellowship program. Recommendations for fellowship appointments are forwarded to the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Art.

# PROFESSORS IN RESIDENCE

# Samuel H. Kress Professor

The National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts select annually a distinguished art historian as Samuel H. Kress Professor, a position created by the Gallery, with the support of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, in 1965. In addition to pursuing independent research, the Kress Professor is the senior member of the Center and counsels predoctoral fellows.

# Andrew W. Mellon Professor

The National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts select biennially a distinguished academic or museum professional as Andrew W. Mellon Professor, a position created in 1994. Scholars are chosen to serve two consecutive academic years and are free to pursue independent research.

Board of Advisors of the Center, April 2013. Left to right: David Joselit, Celeste Brusati, Eugene Wang, Sheila R. Canby, Alexander Nagel, Dale Kinney. Absent: Riichard Neer

### Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professor

The Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professorship was established in 2002 through a grant from the Edmond J. Safra Philanthropic Foundation. Safra Visiting Professors, selected by the National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, serve for terms of up to six months, forging connections between the research of the Gallery's curatorial staff and that of visiting scholars at the Center. At the same time, Safra Professors advance their own research on subjects associated with the Gallery's permanent collection. They may also present seminars or curatorial lectures for graduate students and emerging professors, conservators, and curators from other institutions.

## **FELLOWSHIPS**

Paul Mellon, Ailsa Mellon Bruce, Samuel H. Kress, and William C. Seitz Senior Fellowships

Caroline Maniaque-Benton and Mark Salber Phillips Senior fellowships are awarded without regard to the age or nationality of applicants. Senior fellowships are limited to those who have held the





Fellows' tour of the National Mall, October 24, 2012.

PhD for five years or more or who possess an equivalent record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. Awards are usually made for the academic year, although awards for one academic term are possible. Senior fellows must reside in the Washington area during the fellowship period, which normally runs from early fall to late spring, and are expected to participate in the activities of the Center. Senior fellows may not hold other teaching or lecturing appointments while in residence at the Center. Individuals currently affiliated with the National Gallery of Art are not eligible for the senior fellowship program.

Senior fellowship awards are based on individual need. In addition to a stipend, senior fellows receive allowances for research-related materials and for travel to a professional meeting. Each is provided with a study. Senior fellows who relocate to Washington are provided with housing in apartments near the Gallery, subject to availability.

The application deadline for senior fellowships is October 15. Each candidate must submit an online application that includes a project proposal, two publications, biographical data, and a financial statement. Three letters of recommendation in support of the application are required.



Łukasz Stanek and Stephen Whiteman

Paul Mellon and Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellowships
The Center awards visiting senior fellowships for residencies of up to
sixty days during either of two periods: September through February or
March through August. Qualifications and conditions of appointment
are the same as those for senior fellowships. The stipend is intended to
cover the visiting senior fellows' relocation and research materials. Each
is provided with a study and other privileges while in residence at the
Center. Visiting senior fellows who relocate to Washington are provided
with housing in apartments near the Gallery, subject to availability.

The application deadlines for visiting senior fellowships are March 21 (for September through February) and September 21 (for March through August). Candidates must submit an online application, including one article or chapter of a book. Two letters of recommendation in support of the application are required.

#### Associate Status

The Center may appoint associates who have obtained outside fellowships and awards. These appointments are without stipend and may be made for periods ranging from one month to one academic year. Qualifications and conditions are the same as those for visiting senior fellowships (for residency for up to sixty days) and senior fellowships (for residency for the academic year or one term). The application deadline for associate appointments for the full year or one term is October 15. The procedures are the same as those for senior fellowships. The application deadlines for appointments of up to sixty days are March 21 (for September through February) and September 21 (for March through August).

### A. W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship

The A. W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship was established in 2005 through a grant from the A. W. Mellon Foundation. During the first year of a two-year residency the fellow carries out research and writing for publication. The fellow also designs and directs an intensive weeklong seminar for the seven predoctoral fellows at the Center. In the second academic year, while continuing research and writing in residence, the A. W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow is expected to teach one course (advanced undergraduate or graduate) by arrangement at a neighboring university. The application deadline is October 15. Each candidate must submit an online application, including a brief proposal for the topic of the predoctoral seminar and the university course, and one article or

Fellows' tour of frame conservation with Richard Ford, October 16, 2012



chapter of a book. Three letters of recommendation in support of the application are required.

### Resident and Nonresident Predoctoral Fellowships

The Center awards a number of one-, two-, and three-year fellowships to PhD candidates in art history, architectural history, or archaeology who have completed their university residency requirements, coursework, and general or preliminary examinations. Students must have certification in two languages other than English. Certain fellowships are designated for research in specific fields; others require a twelve-month period of residency at the Center that may include participation in a curatorial research project at the National Gallery of Art. A candidate must be either a United States citizen or enrolled in a university in the United States. In addition to a stipend, predoctoral fellows receive allowances for research-related travel and expenses, depending on the terms of the fellowship. Fellows in residence are provided with apartments near the Gallery, subject to availability.

Application for resident and nonresident predoctoral fellowships may be made only through nomination by the chair of a graduate department of art history or other appropriate department. The nomination deadline is November 15. Fellowship grants begin on September 1 of the following academic year and cannot be deferred or renewed. Nomination forms are sent to department chairs during the summer preceding the fall deadline. After the deadline, any inquiries about the status of a nomination should be made by the department chair.

### Predoctoral Fellowships for Historians of American Art to Travel Abroad

The Center awards up to four fellowships to doctoral students in art history who are studying aspects of art and architecture of the United States, including native and pre-Revolutionary America. The travel fellowship is intended to encourage a breadth of art-historical experience beyond the candidate's major field, not for the advancement of a dissertation. Preference is accorded to those who have had little opportunity for research travel abroad. Applications may be made only through nomination by a chair of a graduate department of art history or other

appropriate department. The nomination deadline is November 15, 2013, for the period June 2014 through May 2015.

#### Facilities and Resources

The Center's offices and seminar room and individual members' studies are located in the East Building of the National Gallery of Art. The National Gallery of Art Library of more than 400,000 volumes is available to members. The Gallery's collections, as well as the library's image collections of almost 14 million photographs, slides, and digital images, are accessible during regular business hours. Members of the Center also have access to other libraries in the Washington area, including the Library of Congress, the Folger Shakespeare Library, Dumbarton Oaks, and the libraries and collections of the various museums of the Smithsonian Institution.

## Further Information about Application and Tenure

Visiting senior fellows may receive awards in three consecutive years but thereafter must wait three years before reapplying to the Center. Holders of senior fellowships and associate appointments may reapply after an interval of five years from the completion of the fellowship. Holders of one-term appointments may reapply three years after the completion of the fellowship. Individuals may not apply for other Center fellowships while an application is pending or while holding a fellowship. Fellowships are not renewable and may not be postponed.

Online applications and instructions for fellowships and associate appointments are available on the Gallery's website (www.nga.gov/casva). Further information about fellowships may be obtained from the fellowship officer: (202) 842-6482.

# MEETINGS, RESEARCH, AND PUBLICATIONS

### Meetings

The Center sponsors regular and special meetings throughout the academic year. Meetings held at regular intervals include colloquia, presented by the senior members of the Center, and shoptalks, given by the predoctoral fellows. Art historians and other scholars at area universities, museums, and research institutes are invited to participate in these gatherings.

Special meetings, which occur periodically throughout the year, include symposia, conferences, curatorial/conservation colloquies, incontri, seminars, and lectures. These involve participants from local, national, and international communities of scholars.

Such gatherings, along with the Center's annual reception in honor of new members, introductory meeting with the curatorial departments of the National Gallery of Art, and weekly luncheon and tea, encourage exchange among the members and help stimulate critical discourse in advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines. A list of the meetings held at the Center in 2012–2013 may be found on pages 23–32.

Research staff, left to right: Emily Pugh, Joseph Hammond, Kathryn Barush, Alexandra Hoare, Elizabeth Cropper, Guendalina Serafinelli, Peter M. Lukehart, Therese O'Malley, Lorenzo Pericolo, and Helen Tangires



#### Research

Each of the deans directs a project designed to be of value to the wider scholarly community. In addition, research associates engaged in long-term Center projects pursue independent research. For current research projects, please see pages 37–44.

Reports by members of the Center are published annually. An index of reports written by members in 2012–2013 begins on page 181.

#### Publications and Web Presentations

A complete list of CASVA publications can be found by following links from www.nga.gov/casvapublications. Audio and video presentations of the A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts and the Wyeth Lectures can be found by following links from http://www.nga.gov/casvameetings.

#### **NEW PUBLICATIONS**

Carlo Cesare Malvasia's Felsina pittrice (1678): Lives of the
Bolognese Painters, vol. 1, Early Bolognese Painting, critical
edition by Lorenzo Pericolo, introduction and translation by
Elizabeth Cropper; copublished with Harvey Miller/Brepols
Publishers, 2012

"'In the Park': Lewis Miller's Chronicle of American Landscape at Midcentury," by Therese O'Malley and Kathryn Barush, with Emily Pugh, Jessica Ruse, and Courtney Tompkins, *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, vol. 12, no. 1 (spring 2013), www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring13

Rediscovering the Ancient World on the Bay of Naples, edited by Carol C. Mattusch, Studies in the History of Art, vol. 79, Symposium Papers LVI, 2013

#### **PUBLICATIONS IN PREPARATION**

Modernism and Landscape Architecture, 1890–1940, edited by Therese O'Malley and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, Studies in the History of Art, vol. 78, Symposium Papers LV

The Artist in Edo, edited by Yukio Lippit, Studies in the History of Art, vol. 80, Symposium Papers LVII

Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530–1900, edited by Joanne Pillsbury; copublished with the University of Oklahoma Press, Spanish edition

#### **NEW VIDEO PRESENTATION**

Wyeth Lecture in American Art, 2003

Friends and Rivals: Copley, West, Peale, Trumbull, and Stuart

Jules David Prown, Yale University

www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/audio-video/wyeth, released

December 2012

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